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THE FIRST CENTURY OF LIBRARY HISTORY IN TENNESSEE, 1813-1913*

By Mrs. John Trotwood Moore

One would not think of the period of the War of 1812 as a propitious time to advance the cause of libraries in Tennessee, yet there appears to have been a group of intellectual citizens of Nashville, probably too old to follow Jackson and his Tennesseans into military service, who must have been library-minded. The first reference to a library in the Tennessee session laws is in an act, passed October 28, 1813, creating a corporate body to be known as the Nashville Library Company,[1] to be managed by seven directors. The first meeting was to be held in the Davidson County courthouse on the first Monday in July, 1814, to elect the directors for a period of twelve months, who would choose a librarian, a clerk and a treasurer.

This bill was signed by Thomas Claiborne, speaker of the house of representatives, and George Wilson, speaker of the senate, pro tem, successor to George Roulstone, editor and publisher of the Knoxville *Gazette*. The first directors elected were: John Dickinson, eminent attorney; Wilkins Tannehill, scholar, editor, philosopher; Duncan Robertson, philanthropist; James Trimble, owner of one of the largest and most costly libraries in the state at that time; Robert Searcy, treasurer of Mero District; William W. Cocke; and Washington Hannum, names familiar in early Nashville history, men who would be expected to head its worthwhile civic improvements.

Two years later, James Fentress, then speaker of the house, and for whom Fentress County was named, and Edward Ward, speaker of the senate, who in 1821 was Governor Carroll's opponent for the governorship of Tennessee, signed a bill incorporating Dickson (County) Library Company.[2] Among the shareholders were Michael Molton, Raford Crumpler, John McRae, Edward

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*An address delivered at the annual banquet of the East Tennessee Historical Society at Knoxville, October 8, 1943.

[1] *Acts of Tennessee*, 1813, pp. 50-51. Hereafter cited as *Acts*.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1815, pp. 29-30.

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Pearsall, Daniel H. Williams, Francis S. Ellis, Abiram Caldwell, and Cyprian Farrar, ancestors of many Tennessee and Kentucky families. They met at the courthouse in Charlotte on the third Monday in December, 1815 to elect five directors to

> continue in office one year, and shall take an oath or affirmation faithfully and impartially to discharge all the duties of their office . . . and shall on the same day elect a librarian who shall let out and receive the books and do such other things as the said directors in their regulations may think proper to make relative to such office . . . the amount of each share subscribed shall be five dollars, and no more, to be applied solely to the purpose of purchasing a library and keeping the same in complete repair.

This progressive organization was evidently in earnest, for at the next session of the legislature, 1817, another law was enacted "for the better regulation of the Dixon [Dickson] Library Company."[3]

At the same session an act was passed on November 15, 1817, incorporating the Knoxville Library Company[4] in these words:

> Sec. 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Tennessee, That Charles A. C. White, James M. M. White, Hugh Lawson White, David A. Sherman, Pleasant M. Miller, Thomas Emmerson, Joseph S. Strong, Edward Scott, Rufus Morgan, James Campbell, William Purris, F. S. Heiskell, William C. Mynatt, G. Wilson, David Keller, Thomas Craighead, John Sutherland, Jr., John Crozier, Robert King, James King, John Blair, John A. Montgomery, Nathaniel Cowan, Spencer Jarnagin, John Porter, Zachariah Boothe, John McCampbell, David Campbell, Margaret Humes, John N. Humes, John Whitson, Wm. Alexander, William H. Montgomery, E. Wyatt, Luke Lea, James Kennedy, Jr., Samuel Roberts, John Anthony, Pryor Lea, John H. Kain, James McCampbell, Calvin Morgan, Andrew Donovan, James Kennedy, William Park, Walter Kennedy, W. C. Kain and Enoch Parsons, together with such persons as shall hereafter become members of the company agreeable to its constitution, be and they are hereby made a body politic and corporate, by the name of the Knoxville Library Company, and by that name may sue and be sued, may have a common seal and perpetual succession, may make by laws and ordinances, relative to assessments, fines and forfeitures upon the members thereof, and to the government and due regulation of the Company and the officers necessary therefor, and may receive, hold and convey personal estate but shall not make any by law or ordinance inconsistent with the constitution of the United States, or of the State of Tennessee.
>
> Sec. 2. *Be it enacted,* That this act shall be in force from and after the passing thereof.
>
> Thomas Williamson
> Speaker of the House of Representatives
> Edward Ward
> Speaker of the Senate
>
> Nov. 15, 1817.

I am sure I do not need to introduce the promoters of the Knoxville Library Company to this audience. I am impressed with the fact

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[3]*Ibid.*, 1817, pp. 84-85.
[4]*Ibid.*, 117-18.

that a woman should have been privileged to become a member of this body at that early date, Margaret Humes, so far as known, the first woman member of a library company in Tennessee.

Maury County, in "The Dimple of the Universe," was next to fall in line. An act incorporating the Fountain Library [5] in that county was passed December 3, 1825, stating that "by that name [to] have succession until 1860," never anticipating, of course, the War between the States, which was to put out of order libraries throughout the South. As in all cases, it was the far-seeing, cultured men of the county who became shareholders. They were the ancestors of prominent citizens who are still carrying on in Columbia and nearby towns today. Richard A. L. Wilkes, Ebenezer Rice, Alexander Johnston, Jonathan S. Hunt, John Campbell, Richard Henderson, and John Amis, were the members who subscribed themselves as such "in a book to be kept by the clerk for that purpose."

The Nashville *Whig and Advertiser* of July 18, 1818, announced the association of R. E. Earl, General Jackson's portrait painter, and George Tunstall, Jr., editor of the Nashville *Whig*, "in the design of establishing a Museum of artificial curiosities for the State of Tennessee," further stating in quaint words: "it is intended the Museum shall contain much of whatever will illustrate the works of nature, stimulate inventive genius, inform the imitative and gratify curiosity."

This association was short-lived and little record of its activities has been located. Then on July 1, 1820, a group of Nashvillians headed by John Haywood, father of Tennessee history, Wilkins Tannehill, Ralph E. W. Earl, William Carroll, later governor of the state, and William Hume, early pastor and educator of Nashville, met at the courthouse and proposed a society "for the collection and preservation of important events in the history of the State of Tennesse, and enquiries into the antiquities of the Western country."

This society took the name of the Antiquarian Society and is known to have existed at least two years. A bound volume of its minutes, extending from July 1, 1820 through August 24, 1822, is a treasured possession of the Tennessee Historical Society. The last meeting is recorded as having been held in Mr. Earl's Museum, he being the librarian of the Antiquarian Society during its entire existence.

The permanent organization of historical societies, museums

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[5] *Private Acts*, 1825, pp. 309-11.

and libraries in Tennessee was an up-hill and discouraging task during the next several years. The only record we have found has been a series of articles of discussion appearing in the Nashville newspapers through the years 1835-1837 and reprinted in the Nashville *Union and American,* November 14, 1857, showing an earnest effort to encourage and educate the populace to the necessity of such luxuries.

From these articles we learn that on the night before Christmas Eve (December 23, 1835) "a number of Gentlemen met at the Room of the Philomathic Society of Nashville, for the purpose of deliberating on the best and most effectual means to promote Science and general Literature." After discussion, recommendations were made, resolutions were passed and committees appointed by A. V. S. Lindsley, the chairman. Others present were D. Shelton, T. Kilpatrick, A. Ewing, W. Yerger, A. Stevens, A. Litton, Steele and J. Trimble. The name given the new society was "A Society for the Advancement of Literature and Science in the State of Tennessee."

The idea was to found a "Parent Society" in the capital city, with auxiliaries in all communities that could be persuaded to join in the venture and establish a system of communication which would operate as a "bond of union, and impart life and vigour to the whole system," creating a "regularly organized literary community . . . all embarked in the great cause of knowledge," a society "diffusing its silent but real and uncalculated blessings over the face of the land." An annual meeing of the other societies with the "Parent Society" was planned, at which time a body of statistics would be collected from over the state, which was expected to "go very far towards diffusing a general spirit of education, and elevating the literary character of the State."

It is interesting to note that almost from its beginning the society placed the emphasis on the necessity for a library in this connection. As early as 1835, its founders urged:

> Another most important feature in the plan of organization is, that each Society will be expected to form a Library proportioned to their means. Your committee would esteem this object alone of sufficient importance to warrant the establishment of the association. What immense advantages would accrue to the community, were a Library established in every town in the State! How many idle hours would be profitably employed; how much useful knowledge would be spread among all classes; and what an impulse would be imparted to the cause of education by substituting intellectual, in the place of grosser amusements, and by enlisting the hearts and the energies of so many rising communities in this all important enterprise!"

It is evident from later newspaper items that there had been a let-down in interest and supervision of the old Nashville Library Company, as it was found necessary to change its location. W. T.

Berry, owner of the old bookstore, was librarian of the Nashville Library Company when Attorney William Yerger, a member of the committee, introduced a resolution "That the Library Committee be authorized to contract for the purchase of the Nashville Library Company with the Directors of the Company; and that they also wait upon Dr. Hadly, and attend to the fitting up of the Library Room." Mr. Yerger further resolved: "That any gentleman who shall make a donation to this Society of books to the amount of $50 or, of $50 for the purchase of books, shall be entitled to the use of the Library, and to Honorary membership."

A contract releasing the books from the Nashville Library Company, read at the meeting February 2, 1836, instructed the librarian to obtain possession of the books, at that time estimated at "upwards of eight hundred volumes, in close cases," located in the courthouse, to be removed to the room offered by Dr. Hadly, but "warned by past experience and especially by the untoward state of the Nashville Library," that "no book or books be permitted, on any occasion whatever, to be taken from the Library room." A new catalogue and rules governing the library were ordered. At the meeting held February 9, 1836, reference was made to an auxiliary recently formed at Lebanon, in Wilson County.

In 1844 "The Advocates Library," which was evidently a forerunner of the Tennessee State Library, was established. The purpose of the law was "to procure a more extensive Law and Miscellaneous Library in Nashville than can be compassed by the means of individuals." The act specified a capital stock not to exceed $50,000, suggested that a library building be opened, and gave the secretary of state the privilege of depositing in this library the state's volumes of reports of judical decisions received from other states, all Tennessee laws and public documents, and all duplicate public and government documents. Hon. Return J. Meigs, later the first state librarian, was one of the commissioners appointed to receive subscriptions for stock in this project.[6]

On January 12, 1844 the Mechanics' Union Society of Columbia, in Maury County, was incorporated, "for the purpose of improving the condition of Mechanics by establishing a circulating Library, and raising funds for educating the children of indigent Mechanics . . . ." [7] The Mechanics' Library Association of Nashville, the Mechanics' Library Association of Knoxville and the Pulaski Mechanics' Library Association were incorporated during the same

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[6] *Acts*, 1843-44, pp. 180-81.
[7] *Ibid.*, 95.

year.[8] The Nashville organization had apparently developed into the Nashville Mechanics' Institute by 1850,[9] the name of which was later changed to the Mechanics Library Association and Institute of the State of Tennessee.[10]

The allowance of one hundred dollars for the purchase of books for the convicts is the first record we have located relating to a library at the State Penitentiary. This was done by the general assembly of 1847-48.[11] The Odd Fellows Hall and Library Association of Memphis was created by the same assembly.[12] On July 4, 1848, the Nashville *American* announced the opening of its reading room, and the issue of July 28 urged a public library for Nashville.

The Tennessee Historical Society was incorporated February 1, 1850,[13] the year following its organization. The third resolution passed by the Society referred to its library. It ordered that its holdings be deposited temporarily in the University of Nashville under the care of Nathaniel Cross, librarian. In his report he announced that the books had been received and "placed upon a shelf above the door of the University library." They were soon afterwards turned over to the Society's new librarian, Mr. William Wales. That library, today, is one of the rarest in the state.

During the early part of the decade of the 1850's, the Mechanics Fire Engine and Hose Company No. 4 and Library Association of Memphis was empowered to continue its organization and establish a library,[14] as was the Invincible Fire Engine Company No. 5; [15] and the Young Men's Literary Society of Knoxville, heretofore chartered, was authorized to change its name to the Knoxville Library Association.[16] Also, the Deluge Fire Company No. 1 of Clarksville was permitted to have a library.[17] During the same year the Mechanics Library Association of Fayetteville was incorporated.[18]

It is not strange that mechanics and firemen should have been interested in creating libraries and reading rooms. Generally, patriotic outstanding citizens were the ones who encouraged and headed these civic organizations as a purely voluntary service. They were

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[8] *Ibid.*, 246-47.
[9] *Ibid.*, 1849-50, p. 175.
[10] *Ibid.*, 1853-54, p. 341. The *Nashville City Directories*, 1855-60, show that several officers of this society were also members of the Merchants' Exchange, listed at the same address. Each had a reading room and a librarian.
[11] *Acts*, 1847-48, Res. No. 38, p. 446.
[12] *Ibid.*, 283.
[13] *Ibid.*, 1849-50, p. 366.
[14] *Ibid.*, 1851-52, p. 371.
[15] *Ibid.*, 1853-54, p. 27.
[16] *Ibid.*, 1851-52, p. 477.
[17] *Ibid.*, 1853-54, p. 393.
[18] *Ibid.*, 375.

known to leave their profession, be it law, industry, finance or teaching, to meet the problems and town disasters. Fire halls became community gathering places and entertainment centers for exhibits of models. Some of the young military companies were born in these meetings. Their objects, as stated in their constitutions, were "for general instruction in popular and useful science, and its application to the Arts and Manufactures by means of classes, schools, conversational meetings, reading rooms, a library, museums, models of machinery, apparatus and such other methods as may be devised for the promotion of its purposes." [19]

In the act incorporating the Clarksville Female Institute, I discovered a type of provision for which I had searched from the beginning of this study and which I have found in only one other early school law. Almost invariably, the laws incorporating academies, schools and colleges use the same wording: "to establish departments in the institution as may be useful" and to "elect such officers . . . as they may deem necessary to secure the objects of the institution," but contain no mention of a library. It is the same story in the early laws creating towns and cities. No provision is made for libraries. The charter of the Clarksville Female Institute, dated December 13, 1853,[20] however, includes this statement: "and if they think it expedient and to the interest of the stockholders, they may institute and establish a library and ordain the laws of its government and elect the officers thereof." The other reference was found in the act establishing the Mifflin Male and Female Academy,[21] in Henderson County, which also incorporated the Mifflin Library Association.

We know that many of the schools in the state had libraries of various sizes, some of which were rare libraries, and others, the private libraries of heads of the institutions or loans from friends. School libraries existed in Tennessee from the time when Dr. Samuel Doak visited Philadelphia, in 1798, as a commissioner to the general assembly of the Presbyterian Church and was presented by friends with a number of books for his college. He carried them on a packhorse five hundred miles across the mountains to become the nucleus of the first school library in Tennessee, the library of Washington College, previously Martin Academy.

A few years earlier, however, in 1794, a committee was appointed to collect the debts made against Davidson Academy, of Nashville, "and purchase books for the use of the academy." This

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[19] *Nashville City & Business Directory*, V, 1860-61, p. 45.
[20] *Acts*, 1853-54, pp. 390-93.
[21] *Ibid.*, 73-74. This same law also created the Savannah Library Association.

institution became Cumberland College in 1806, and twenty years later the University of Nashville. When Dr. Philip Lindsley assumed the presidency in 1825, he said in his inaugural address: "We hope to see the day . . . when in Cumberland College . . . shall be found such an array of able professors, such libraries . . . as shall secure to the student every advantage which the oldest and noblest European institution can boast." By 1824 there remained of the old library one hundred books; but Dr. Lindsley brought from the East about 1500 volumes obtained by gift or purchase. Students were charged a library fee of $4.00 [23] for its upkeep. The medical collection was not added until 1851-52.

It is to be regretted that printed reports and histories of educational institutions in Tennessee have given almost no space to the library. We have *seen* books with the stamp of the Nashville Female Academy, yet there is no mention of the library in the published histories. In the histories of other institutions, the subject is passed over with a simple reference or paragraph or two, usually regarding the effects of the war, as will be seen from the available quotations that follow. After the War between the States, Greeneville College was consolidated with Tusculum College in 1868. Its library was partly the result of the efforts of Hezekiah Balch, who had toured the South and West[24] in the 1790's "raising money and collecting a library." At the time of the consolidation, "the remnant of this library of which many books had been carried off, was taken to Tusculum."[25]

"Due to the uncertain state of affairs caused by the war," the library at Washington College, which had been started by Dr. Doak, had rapidly disappeared from the building. "A committee was appointed by the board to collect and restore as much as they could, but they were never able to accomplish much."[26]

"During the war Maryville College was closed [after forty-two years existence], her buildings were used as barracks and left in ruins by the contending armies and her library [of six thousand volumes] was almost destroyed. . . . In 1864 what remained of the library and the real estate was sold for debt by order of court." Lamar Memorial Library was built to commemorate the memory of one of the benefactors, Rev. Thomas J. Lamar, who died in 1887.[27]

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[22]L. S. Merriam, *Higher Education in Tennessee* (Washington, D. C., 1893), 227.
[23]*Ibid.*, 22-45.
[24]*Ibid.*, 229.
[25]*Ibid.*, 230.
[26]H. E. Carr, *Washington College, a Study* . . . (Knoxville, 1935), 41.
[27]Merriam, *op. cit.*, 234-35.

Union University at Murfreesboro "was brought low by the hand of war. From May, 1861, to January, 1868, her operations ceased, . . . apparatus and library were scattered or destroyed."[28]

"Some part of the University of Tennessee library had been rescued from the wreck of war, and this was set up for the use of the school in 1866." From 1869 to 1893 it grew from one to six thousand volumes.[30]

Southwestern Presbyterian University at Clarksville (later Stewart College) "suffered severely during the war. Its library . . . [was] swept away and for several years its doors were closed."[31] After its reorganization a library of five or six thousand volumes was built up. "Probably the most valuable part of it is the selection of scientific books, the gift of Prof. William M. Stewart."[32]

Memphis Conference Female Institute[33] had four thousand volumes. Columbia Institute[34] and Columbia Athenaeum[35] each had ten thousand volumes, among them some rare items. The Hughes Public Library at Rugby, established in the early 1880's, and "possessing an excellent collection of seven thousand volumes," has many rare first editions of juvenile books. "The oldest book in the library is a political satire published in 1684."[36]

In 1870 "a considerable library having accumulated by gifts from England, Dr. Carder and others, Bishop Gregg, of Texas and Bishop Young, of Florida, very generously erected at their own expense and aid of funds, a neat library of wood,"[37] at the University of the South, at Sewanee. It was replaced by Hodgson Library, the cornerstone of which was laid on August 9, 1875, a gift of Rev. Telfair Hodgson. Another record, dated a few years later, reported that "as yet the books to put in it were few and far between."[38]

The library and endowment of Cumberland College at Lebanon "were swept away . . . her buildings were burned."[39]

Ward's Seminary, we are told by a member of the family, used the private library of Dr. William E. Ward, president of the college.

Nashville College for Young Ladies had a small library "com-

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[28]*Ibid.*, 223.
[29]*Ibid.*, 69.
[30]*Ibid.*, 73.
[31]*Ibid.*, 214.
[32]*Ibid.*, 218.
[33]*Ibid.*, 247.
[34]*Ibid.*
[35]*Ibid.*, 251.
[36]Helen H. Turner, "Thomas Hughes' American Library," *Wilson Bulletin*, VI (Jan. 1932), 354-55.
[37]G. R. Fairbanks, *History of the University of the South* (Jacksonville, 1905), 110.
[38]Merriam, *op. cit.*, 209.
[39]*Ibid.*, 191.

posed of valuable books of reference" and "so classified as to facilitate their use."[40]

Saint Cecelia Academy "did not decline during the war, but continued in successful operation."[41] The library left by the will of the late Miss Will Allen Dromgoole has been added to this collection.

The library at Vanderbilt University, as late as 1893, occupied two rooms in University Hall and had a large branch in Wesley Hall and some books in Science Hall and in the Hall of Mechanical Engineering. It contained about fifteen thousand volumes.[42] The law section had six thousand volumes, containing the private library of the late Francis B. Fogg, Professors Reese and Baxter, the library of the Nashville Bar Association and the splendid collection of the late William F. Cooper.[43]

Among the colored schools erected following the war, Livingstone Hall at Fisk University reserved space for a library in the 1880's,[44] and about one fourth of the Slater Fund donated to Central Tennessee College for Negroes was used "for the purchase of books and apparatus,"[45] perhaps mainly text books.

Today, three quarters of a century having passed, the story of many of these struggling, abused libraries of educational institutions presents a brighter picture, a happier story. Even so, their growth has not been as rapid as that of college libraries in the North and East.

Any history of Tennessee libraries would be incomplete without a discussion of the Tennessee State Library. About the middle of the century, the secretary of state began to find himself crowded out of his office because of the increasing volume of exchange documents pouring in from other states, not to speak of the extra work involved. It may be stated here that before the completion of the capitol building the governor and his cabinet had inadequate quarters in the old Davidson County courthouse on the Public Square in Nashville. About the time the capitol was completed, the general assembly, on January 20, 1854, passed a law making the secretary of state exofficio state librarian.[46] The act states "that he be required to keep safely all books and documents which may now belong to the State library, or which may hereafter be added thereto; that he shall prepare and keep in a well bound book a catalogue of

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[40] *Ibid.*, 259.
[41] *Ibid.*, 254.
[42] *Ibid.*, 145.
[43] *Ibid.*, 130.
[44] *Ibid.*, 265-66.
[45] *Ibid.*, 273.
[46] *Acts*, 1853-54, pp. 111-12.

the same, and shall receive as a compensation therefor the sum of one hundred and fifty dollars per annum." Other rulings were that the library should be kept open at least one day in every week, a receipt taken for any book loaned, and if a book was not returned it was to be paid for by the borrower. The librarian was to execute a bond of $500 with sufficient security for faithful discharge of his duty. From this nucleus originated the State Library of Tennessee.[47]

The first appropriation made for the State Library was provided when the scholarly Return Jonathan Meigs was appointed state librarian on March 1, 1856.[48] The sum of five hundred dollars was placed under the superintendence of the new librarian to enlarge the collection. The library was now to be kept open daily, except, of course, on holidays. The usual library rules were made.

The two secretaries of state who had been exofficio state librarians in the meantime, W. B. A. Ramsey, from 1854 to October 26, 1855, and F. N. W. Burton, from the latter date to March 1, 1856, left little information about the status of the library. In answer to a house resolution requiring Mr. Ramsey to make a report,[49] he replied two days later that "there was no fund placed at my disposal adequate to the fitting it up in a style of elegance and durability consonant with the other parts of the building. . . . Until the apartment was finished and surrendered by the Commissioners, I could not practically discharge the duties assigned the Librarian by law . . . nor do I consider myself entitled to any part of the salary allowed by law for the performance of those duties."[50] No record has been found of Mr. Burton's service.

Return Jonathan Meigs, grandson of the Indian agent whose name he bore, was born in Clark County, Kentucky, April 14, 1801. He became a learned and polished lawyer of unusual ability, peculiarly adapted to the work of his chosen field. He began practice at Athens, Tennessee in 1823. During this period much of his work concerned the Cherokee treaties of 1817-1819. He was later associated with Judge John M. Lea, of Nashville, was appointed state reporter in 1838, and was one of the compilers of the Code of Tennessee in 1858.[51]

Mr. Meigs' reports as state librarian show remarkable foresight and appreciation of the value of libraries. In one of his appeals he asked the legislature for $15,000 "as a worthy beginning of the

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[47]A library commission to consider and recommend a library for the state had been appointed on January 5, 1854. *Ibid.*, Resolution No. 21, p. 798.

[48]*Ibid.*, 1855-56, p. 236.

[49]*Tennessee House Journal*, 1855-56, Res. No. 27, p. 83.

[50]*Ibid.*, 90-91.

[51]J. W. Caldwell, *Sketches of the Bench and Bar of Tennessee* (Knoxville, 1898), 92-93.

State." He urged: "I advocate the establishment of an adequate Library as a great public interest, deserving the fostering care of every son of Tennessee, and as calculated more effectually to advance her true glory, and her permanent welfare, than aught beside within the power of the legislature."[52]

He knew the value of state documents and the importance of their exchange, both domestic and foreign. He constantly plead for a special fund to be set aside for this purpose. The law finally carried out his suggestions, giving him one hundred copies of each state publication to exchange with other states and foreign countries.[53]

In his second report, listing books on various subjects which were lost during a session of the legislature, he humorously wrote: "It is amusing to note the variety of books made love to in this list. The ardent student of Theology, and the devotee of Natural Science, the Statesman and Political Economist, Ethnologist, and admirer of man's best friend, the Dog, it seems, have an equal proclivity to literature."[54] All of the lost books were repurchased, but Mr. Meigs suggested that it would probably be profitable to follow a ruling in the Library of Congress. When borrowed books were not returned two weeks before the end of the session, a list, with their prices, was placed in the hands of the sergeant-at-arms, who, as proxy of the proper officer of the Treasury, paid the salaries of members of Congress. He retained out of the salary of the borrower *double* the value of each book not returned.[55]

On the breaking out of the War between the States Mr. Meigs declared his sympathies with the Union, resigned his position in June, 1861, and went to New York to reside.[56] In 1863 he was called to Washington by Mr. Lincoln, at whose request he accepted the position of clerk of the supreme court of the District of Columbia. He died in office in Washington, October 19, 1891.[57] John E. Hatcher succeeded Mr. Meigs as state librarian for a short period.[58] The next year found Nashville under military control with Andrew Johnson at the head of the government.

During military occupation of the city the capitol was used as a fort. The state comptroller, appointed by Governor Johnson, mentioned in his report, May, 1865: "It has been an effort to pre-

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[52]*Second Biennial Report,* State Librarian, 1855-57, pp. 14-15.
[53]*Private Acts,* 1859-60, p. 247.
[54]*Second Biennial Report,* State Librarian, 1855-57, p. 11.
[55]*Ibid.*
[56]Caldwell, *op. cit.,* 94.
[57]*Ibid.,* 95.
[58]*House Journal,* 1861, 2nd. Ex. Sess., 129.

serve the State Capitol free from injury. . . . It has been made a fortress and frequently the barracks for a regiment of soldiers, and this for the entire winter." Nevertheless, "unchecked by war, our library has preserved its youthful vigor, and will connect the two ages, as it does all the past."[59] This statement does not agree with that made at the same time by the superintendent of the Tennessee School for the Blind, who reported: "Every resident who remained in the city from the 15th to the 26th of February, 1862, can remember how every species of property, not strictly of a private character, was considered by the rabble as lawful prey. Books from the State Library, and bacon on the road-side were like esteemed common property."[60] Many instances have occurred lately in the administration of the State Library to prove the truth of the latter statement. The Tennessee Historical Society was also located in the State Library at that time. Its holdings and library were subjected to the same treatment.

The late Dr. Augustin Gattinger, another scholarly gentleman of Nashville, was made state librarian in 1864, and reelected May 2, 1865.[61] He added many treasured volumes to the library. During his administration a board of commissioners composed of the governor and judges of the supreme court was created to superintend and control the library of the state.[62] The librarian's salary was raised to $1000 annually and all purchases were made under the direction of the board.

Dr. Gattinger showed the same intellectual pride in the library as that shown by Mr. Meigs. In his plea to the legislature he referred to it as "a noble monument of State pride and dignity." "Let it be remembered," he wrote,

> that never a people lived, and left a name to history, who did not exhibit an honest reverence for the past, and tender love to posterity. . . . Endow this Library with all the best works that may be obtained on every subject of human inquiry . . . . Then it will make students as well as serve them, and its truest work will be, to help "Educate the Educators," in throwing open before them the daily growing treasures of the unceasing conquest, the yields of the ever-ripening harvests of human intellect.[63]

Dr. W. H. Wharton succeeded Dr. Gattinger but we have no report of his work. He died after a prolonged illness, on May 8, 1871. Six days later Governor D. W. C. Senter appointed the first woman to hold the position of state librarian in Tennessee, Mrs.

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[59] *Ibid.*, 1865, Appendix, 9.
[60] *Ibid.*, 137.
[61] *Tennessee Senate Journal*, 1865, p. 108.
[62] *Report of the Commissioners and Librarian of the Tennessee State Library*, 1865-1867, p. 5.
[63] *Ibid.*, 6.

Paralee Haskell, widow of the late noted orator William T. Haskell, to fill out the unexpired term. She was regularly elected at the following session for a term of two years. It was during her administration that Dr. George S. Blackie was employed to prepare the catalogue of the library published in 1871, showing the rare collection of which any library would be proud.[64]

Mrs. Robert Hatton, widow of the renowned Confederate general, was the next state librarian. The duties had increased to the extent that an assistant state librarian was authorized during the extra session of 1882.[65] On the retirement of Mrs. Hatton in 1887, Mrs. Sue P. Lowe, of Springfield, served two terms, followed by Mrs. Linnie Williams, of Dyersburg.

No record of the service of these women has been located except in session laws, resolutions, journals and comptrollers' reports showing disbursements made for library salaries, and through newspaper notices. Reports certainly were made but probably, as today, no fund was provided for their printing, and in time, if written, they have been lost.

During the administration of Governor Peter Turney a law was passed turning over the appointment of the state librarian to the governor. Since the library was under the control of the supreme court he felt it was his duty to appoint a man to the position. Women had served satisfactorily since 1871. A discussion brought about a new law making women eligible to the position and relieving the governor of any embarrassment in the appointment.[66]

At this time Mrs. Irene Ingram was appointed. She later became a citizen of Knoxville as wife of the late distinguished historian, the Hon. Samuel Heiskell. She was provided with an appropriation of $500 for new furnishings, which a report states "rendered the Library the most attractive public office in the city of Nashville." The efficiency, faithfulness and dignity of Mrs. Ingram and her assistant, Miss Flora Kuhn, her sister, were commended by the general assembly.[67]

A similar resolution commended the services of their successors, Miss Pauline Jones, state librarian, and her sister, the late Miss Lutie C. Jones, of Woodbury. After one term the office was held by Miss Jennie Lauderdale, of Dyersburg, for one term. Her brother was her assistant for a time. Later, she employed Mr. Robert T. Quarles, Sr., to classify and shelve between fifteen and twenty

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[64]*Senate Journal*, 1871, Appendix, 193-98.
[65]*Acts*, 1882, Ex. Sess., 30.
[66]*Ibid.*, 1895, p. 9.
[67]*Ibid.*, 1897, Res. 20, p. 791.

thousand volumes as, she reported, "The capacity and utility of the Library has been nearly doubled."[68]

Mrs. Lulu B. Epperson, of Clarksville, was next to hold the position, and through her recommendation was purchased the first steel file to house the new card catalogue. The Dewey decimal classification and relative index system had been employed in cataloging the books in the general collection. To her report Mrs. Epperson attached an informative history of the state library and the laws governing it.

Miss Mary R. Skeffington, of Dyersburg, followed and was the first state librarian to be appointed by the new library commission, consisting of the governor, the attorney general and the chief justice of the supreme court, created April 20, 1901. Miss Jane Skeffington was assistant to her sister. In 1912 Miss Skeffington published a valuable list of the library's holdings of Tennesseana.[69]

During the last half of the century under consideration, laws concerning the State Library were frequently changed. Appropriations were increased and decreased but interest and progress continued, each administration working toward an outstanding goal. The number of its volumes grew into six figures, many interesting people signed its guest registers, and many more benefited by research in its rich collections.

During the same period library associations came to life in all sections of the state, the Law Library Association of Cumberland University having been the last to be incorporated.[70]

Nor did the mechanics and firemen lose interest. The session laws show the following incorporations: The Fountain Fire Company No. 1 and the Niagara Fire Company No. 2 of Knoxville, with the privilege "to establish and own a library";[71] the Jackson Mechanics' Library Association, and the Chattanooga Mechanics' Institute, with by-laws providing "For the formation and sustaining of a Library and Reading Room, with a cabinet, utensils, models and philosophical and mechanics' apparatus";[72] the Young Men's Mercantile Library Association of Nashville;[73] the Memphis Library Association, and the Tennessee Normal Institute in Davidson County, giving the superintendent the privilege of purchasing a library, with

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[68]*Ibid.*, 1899, H. Res. 28, p. 1278; *Twenty-third Biennial Report*, State Librarian, 1899-1901.

[69]*Twenty-fourth Biennial Report*, State Librarian, 1903; *Biennial Report*, State Librarian, 1911-12.

[70]*Acts*, 1855-56, p. 199.

[71]*Ibid.*, 260.

[72]*Ibid.*, 298-303.

[73]*Ibid.*, 1859-60, p. 407.

the approval of the board;[74] the Chickasaw Club and Library Association of Memphis;[75] the Memphis Clerk's Benevolent and Library Association;[76] the St. Andrews Society of Memphis, a Scotch society permitted to "secure lodge rooms and libraries";[77] the Chattanooga Library Association;[78] the McMinnville Library Association;[79] the Caruthers' Library Society of Cumberland University, at Lebanon;[80] the Franklin Lyceum, in Williamson County, partially "to maintain a library";[81] the Memphis Fire and Relief Association, empowered "to establish and own a library";[82] the Jackson Library Association in Madison County;[83] and charters granted to a Library and Academy in Cumberland City, Stewart County,[84] a Law Library Association in Clarksville,[85] the Masonic Library Association in Davidson County,[86] and Eakin Library in Bedford County.[87]

Most unique were four German incorporated bodies entitled the Gymnastic Associations, organized for mutual association and to establish reading rooms. The one in Nashville was called in German "Der Nashville Turn Verein." Section 7 of the law creating it reads: "Be it further enacted that Dr. Goetz and his associates are hereby constituted a body corporate and politic under the name and style of the Knoxville Turner's Association"; and section 9 incorporated the Memphis Turner's Association, both with the same privileges as "Der Nashville Turn Verein."[88] The fourth was organized at Clarksville.[89] All of the last mentioned library interests were born and perhaps most of them died in little more than a quarter of a century.

One wonders that the question of public libraries had not gained more attention in the cities. Hiller C. Wellman said:

> There is only one solution of all social problems—increase of intelligence and sympathy. To this end newspapers, schools, and pulpits are useful. But these are all limited in their speech. Politics, personal considerations, undue or misplaced conservatism—these make limitations. The public library is the broadest of teachers, one may say the only free teacher.[90]

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[74] *Ibid.*, 1865-66, pp. 190, 366.
[75] *Ibid.*, 1866-67, p. 132.
[76] *Ibid.*, 1867-68, p. 239.
[77] *Ibid.*, 1867-68, p. 23.
[78] *Ibid.*, 221.
[79] *Ibid.*, 238.
[80] *Ibid.*, 1868-69, p. 150.
[81] *Ibid.*, 1869-70, p. 203.
[82] *Ibid.*, 273.
[83] *Ibid.*, 315.
[84] *Ibid.*, 1881, Corporations, *passim.*
[85] *Ibid.*
[86] *Ibid.*, 1882, Corp.
[87] *Ibid.*, 1883, Corp.
[88] *Ibid.*, 1865-66, p. 99.
[89] *Ibid.*, 1867-68, p. 224.
[90] Quoted in *Annual Report*, Tennessee Free Library Commission, 1911-12, p. 1.

Tennesseans must have begun to share that thought in the late nineties, for chapter 105 of the *Acts* of 1897 is the first legislation we have authorizing public libraries in Tennessee. Its caption reads:

An act to empower municipal corporations having 20,000 population and upwards according to the Federal Census of 1890, or any subsequent Federal Census, to establish and maintain free public libraries and reading rooms, and to aid certain free public library associations already established, and to provide for their protection, management and control; and to empower such libraries and library associations to receive gifts of money or other property, and to exempt their property from taxation and execution.

This law went into effect April 9, 1897 under the administration of the late Governor Robert L. Taylor.

During the session of 1901 the Tennessee general assembly sent a resolution to Tennessee congressmen in Washington urging the passage of a bill to reimburse the trustees of old Jackson College, belonging to the Masons of Maury County, to the extent of $30,000 for the destruction of the school by fire while it was occupied by Federal soldiers in 1862 and used as a hospital.[91] The Masons especially "deplored the loss of its library and laboratory."

In 1903 an act was passed to levy and provide for the collection of taxes within taxing districts having a population of 100,000 and upwards, according to the federal census of 1900, or any subsequent federal census, "for the purpose of maintaining free public libraries within such taxing districts."[92]

In 1909 laws were passed providing for the support of the library of the University of Tennessee, and establishing the Tennessee Free Library Commission.[93] The same year the General Education Bill provided funds "to encourage and assist in the establishment and maintenance of libraries in the public schools," and circulating libraries.[94]

Following in the footsteps of Margaret Humes, the Tennessee Federation of Women's Clubs had been instrumental in forming many of the library associations referred to above. They had started and largely supported "subscription libraries" in Athens, Bristol, Clarksville, Cleveland, Columbia, Cookeville, Dyersburg, Fayetteville, Gallatin, Huntingdon, Johnson City, Murfreesboro, Paris and Sweetwater. Greene County had a flourishing subscription library located in Greeneville maintained by an incorporated library association, which was free to every citizen in the county.[95] The Ten-

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[91] *Acts*, 1901, H. Jt. Res. 46, pp. 1218-19.
[92] *Ibid.*, 1903, pp. 1416-17.
[93] *Ibid.*, 1909, pp. 634, 629.
[94] *Ibid.*, 911-12.
[95] *Annual Report*, Tennessee Free Library Commission, 1911-12, p. 17.

nessee Federation of Women's Clubs sent out the first traveling library ever organized in Tennessee. The State Library then took over the extension work and sent out in 1910 the first traveling library provided by the state.[96]

In 1911 a new law amended the act of 1909 in order to enable the Free Library Commission "to properly discharge its duties," by appropriating the sum of $2500 a year for two years for the services of a paid secretary and state library organizer, and for legitimate operating expenses. All vouchers should be signed by the secretary and approved by the state librarian. The secretary was required to give her entire time to the office.[97]

In her first annual report, 1911-1912, the late Mrs. Pearl Williams Kelly, general secretary of the Tennessee Free Library Commission and director of library extension in Tennessee, wrote:

> The place of books in the nation, whose growth and integrity rest upon the widespread intelligence of all its citizens, is significant . . . . the State, recognizing its responsibility in developing this means of popular education, has created State centers from which books may be distributed to communities too small to maintain local public libraries.

By 1912 Nashville, Memphis, Chattanooga, Jackson, Brownsville, Union City and Harriman had taken advantage of the law, and free public libraries supported by municipal taxation were occupying library buildings. Memphis and Nashville were preparing to erect branch libraries. Knoxville was taking steps toward establishing a free public library, and a free county library was in preparation at Franklin, in Williamson County.

Howard Library in Nashville, a gift from Memucan Hunt Howard, former citizen of Tennessee, was incorporated in 1885 and remained a reference library until October 1, 1889. It was then made a circulating library on a basis of paid readers' cards until April 22, 1901. Mr. Carnegie's gift of $100,000 was accepted for the erection of a new building and the name was changed to Carnegie Library of Nashville, now known as the Nashville Public Library.

This is the story, step by step, of the first century of library legislation in Tennessee, 1813-1913. You well know the story from then on. Many of you have experienced the encouragements and discouragements in the further promotion of this important asset to the citizenship of Tennessee.

Strange, isn't it, the obstacles that retard the acceptance of a gift so priceless as the library. Even today we still find ourselves

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[96] *Ibid.*, 19.
[97] *Pub. Acts*, 1911, p. 96.

striving to impress upon the public this need—the blessed avenue of escape from the many sordid things that beset us and hedge us about.

Would we not do well to listen again to the ringing words of Dr. Gattinger when he wrote: "Let it be remembered that never a people lived and left a name in history who did not exhibit an honest reverence for the past and tender love to posterity."

THE EDUCATIONAL TRAINING AND VIEWS OF ANDREW JACKSON

By Arda Walker

Andrew Jackson left an abundance of documentary evidence respecting almost every phase of his political and military career, but little can be found regarding his educational background. The turmoil and upheavals of the American Revolution and Jackson's early loss of his parents[1] contributed to a lack of records concerning his early school life. This, when coupled with the fantastic stories that have grown up from the eulogistic accounts of his admirers and the questionable tales of his extreme ignorance as related by enemies, enshrouds Jackson's early education with an almost impenetrable mist.

Writing in 1826, E. H. Cummins related that his father, Rev. Dr. Francis Cummins, remembered Jackson as one of his pupils in Charlotte, Mecklenberg County, North Carolina.[2] The school that Jackson then attended was an "old field" school. Perhaps the best known of Jackson's teachers was a Mr. Humphries, Presbyterian divine and superintendent of the academy at the Waxhaw meeting-house in South Carolina in 1779.[3] A number of authorities agree that Jackson's mother had intended Andrew for the ministry, "giving him more than the common school education which his older brothers received."[4]

After the Revolution, Jackson again took up his studies under a Mr. McCulloch in an institution that was then known as the "New Acquisition." Here he divided his time between the languages and a "desultory course of studies." At the age of eighteen, he abandoned any thought of becoming a minister and took up

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[1]Jackson's father died shortly before Andrew's birth. His mother died during the Revolution.

[2]E. H. Cummins to Jackson, August 10, 1826, J. S. Bassett (ed.) *The Correspondence of Andrew Jackson* (Washington, 1926-1935), III, 310 n; hereafter this work will be referred to as *Correspondence.*

[3]B. M. Dusenbery (compiler), *Monument to the Memory of General Andrew Jackson* (Philadelphia, 1845), 10. See also James Parton, *The Life of Andrew Jackson* (New York, 1861), I, 62.

[4]Dusenbery, *op. cit.*, 9; Parton, *op. cit.*, I, 61; John Reid and John Eaton, *The Life of Andrew Jackson Major General in the Service of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1817), 10.

law.[5] He studied this subject for two years under Spruce McCay and John Stokes and was admitted to the bar in 1788.[6] This seems to have been the extent of Jackson's formal education.[7] Its narrowness proved to be a considerable handicap to Jackson's future activities in the political world. He spelled as he chose; his grammar was poor. "Of science, the classics, and literature, he knew nothing."[8] Of course, when Jackson was in school spelling had not been standardized as in our own day. Webster's dictionary had not been published and many men of importance, such as George Washington, John Coffee, and others, were far less able spellers than Jackson.

That Jackson had any further direct connection with education is questionable, although James Parton produced three witnesses in 1859 who swore that Andrew Jackson taught school near the Waxhaw Methodist Episcopal Church in South Carolina,[9] and Marquis James has accepted Parton's proof. Jackson must have been adept in acquiring knowledge or adopting classical phrases from other sources. In his writings are numerous references to Shakespeare. Whether Jackson was cognizant of their source or not, he used such quotations as "Ides of March," "There is something rotten in the state of Denmark," "the die is cast"; "There is a tide in the affairs of men when taken at its height leads on to fortune." [10] These could have been acquired from the "stump" in Tennessee. It is not probable that he read the Bard of Avon.

On some occasions Jackson impressed people with whom he came into contact as a scholarly man. For example, a writer in the Richmond *Enquirer,* after a visit to Tennessee, stated Jackson "was pointed out to me in Knoxville as an elegant scholar." [11] Jackson himself was not deluded as to his aptitude as a scholar. In commenting upon his candidacy for the presidency in 1825, he said, "I was well aware that my defective education would in some degree render me obnoxious to those poignant shafts of satire and derision which

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[5]Ibid., 14.

[6]Dusenbery, *op. cit.,* 14. Jenkins gives the date 1786, but this is probably erroneous. J. S. Jenkins, *Jackson and the Generals of the War of* 1812 (Philadelphia, 1854), 185.

[7]Parton gives credence to a tradition that Jackson once went to school at Queen's College, Charlotte, North Carolina, giving as his proof a statement of Jackson to the effect that he attended that school. While Jackson was President someone told him gold had been discovered on the hill where Queen's College stood. To this Jackson replid, "Then it must have grown since I went to school there, for there was no gold there then." This statement, it seems, could have a double interpretation. See Parton, *op. cit.,* I, 62.

[8]Gaillard Hunt, *Life in America One Hundred Years Ago* (New York, 1914), 125.

[9]Parton, *op. cit.,* I, 99.

[10]See Jackson to W. C. C. Claibourne, November 12, 1806, *Correspondence,* I, 153; Jackson and J. Hutchings to Williamson and Patton, April 29, 1807, *ibid.,* 181; Jackson's comment on John Gordon's certificate, September 26, 1812, *ibid.,* 235.

[11]Richmond *Enquirer,* as quoted in *Niles' Register,* VIII (March 18, 1815), 47.

the event thus far has realized." [12] Jackson may not have used the appropriate word but he had the idea.

Reference to books occupied a very small space in Jackson's correspondence. In that part edited by Bassett, only three references to books besides hymnals and the Bible are made. One is to a biographical dictionary dealing with the "characters of the sages of the Revolution," which Jackson sent to Mrs. Jackson and urged her to read. The other two, Boyer's *Dictionary,* and three volumes of Sevigne's *Letters,* were listed in a bookseller's bill during his presidency.[13] His library consisted of presented books and Bibical commentaries.[14] Nicholas P. Trist wrote in the New York *Evening Post,* July, 1853, "With him the book of books—after the Bible, of course—was the 'Vicar of Wakefield'." [15]

Jackson's views on public education can perhaps best be understood by an examination of the education provided for his adopted son and his wards, and by the study of his relationship with some institutions that were established throughout the country during his time. As early as 1816, Jackson, while at New Orleans wrote to Mrs. Jackson: "Say to my son if he will learn his Book well his sweet papa will bring him a pretty from New Orleans." [16] Lincoya, the little Indian boy that Jackson took home from the Creek War, received an education along with Mrs. Jackson's nephews. In 1822 Jackson complained to Col. James Gadsden that although he had his little sons, including Lincoya, at school, their education had been greatly neglected during his absence. "Justice to them," he said, "require[s] my attention when I have health to give it." [17] At that time A. J. Donelson, Jackson's adopted son, was attending Transylvania College in Kentucky, then one of the foremost institutions of the country. Jackson did not feel that the institution ranked with Litchfield, the famous law school that John C. Calhoun attended, "which," he wrote, "from the age, and great experience of its professors and the mode of Lecturing, is superior."[18] The lack of money was the obstacle in the way of his young ward's attendance at this superior institution. But Jackson felt that "having a good library," young Donelson would lose nothing from missing the lectures. He counseled him to "amuse himself occasionally with history—amongst which if to be had, I would recommend to you the history of the

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[12]Knoxville *Register,* April 1, 1825.
[13]Jackson to Mrs. Jackson, April 7, 1824, *Correspondence,* III, 244; *ibid.,* IV, 104.
[14]Parton, *op. cit.,* II, 654.
[15]New York *Evening Post* as quoted in *ibid.,* III, 604.
[16]Jackson to Mrs. Jackson, March 13, 1816, *Correspondence,* II, 236. See also *ibid.,* IV, 104.
[17]Jackson to Col. James Gadsden, May 2, 1822, *ibid.,* III, 161.
[18]Jackson to A. J. Donelson, October 11, 1822, *ibid.,* 178.

scottish chiefs." He particularly recommended the study of the life of William Wallace.[19]

While A. J. Donelson was at Transylvania, his brother Daniel, who was not a ward of Jackson, was having difficulty with his education. Daniel wanted to leave the military academy at West Point and enter Yale. His grandmother, Mrs. John Donelson, objected. Jackson wrote to her and managed to get her consent to permit the boy to do as he desired. The General preferred, however, that the boy remain at the academy, which he believed was the "best school in the world, but without he is contented there," he reasoned, "it is useless to keep him there, dis[con]tented he cannot improve his mind." Another problem confronting Daniel was that of financing his education. He proposed to sell his property to pay his college bills. To this Jackson objected. Writing to Daniel's brother, Jackson stated vigorously:

> I was determined that he should receive a liberal education without the sale of his land—if I paid it out of my own means. I know the vallue of a real education, I set out that you all three should receive it, and nothing but the want of means shall prevent it, and I trust in a kind Providence that he will not deprive me of the means to carry into effect such a praiseworthy object.[20]

In the following year, 1824, while at Washington, Jackson was still mindful of his adopted son's education. He wrote to Mrs. Jackson that he intended to examine the college there with a "view if" he liked "it and its moral Government, to bring they [*sic*] two Andrews here next fall and leave them here." He had been told, he continued, that the institution was superintended by a "worthy Baptist Clergyman of great ability." [21]

In the matter of education, Jackson's ward, A. J. Hutchings, the son of a former business partner, presented Jackson with the most difficult problems. This young Hutchings was something of a reprobate. In this respect he might almost be called Jacksonian. He could not be kept at home on the plantation because he did not agree with the overseer. On one occasion he rode a mare into a fence and put out its eyes.[22] In 1829 he was suspended from college. Jackson then sent him to school to a Mr. Otte, hoping that the severe master would control him. The course of study that Jackson recommended gives some insight as to the discipline that Jackson considered valuable:

> I wish him taught penmanship, arithmetic and Book keeping, algebra,

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[19]Jackson to A. J. Donelson, March 21, 1822, *ibid.*, 156.

[20]Jackson to Andrew J. Donelson, March 5, 1823, *ibid.*, 190-91.

[21]Jackson to Mrs. Jackson, December 7, 1823, *ibid.*, 216. The institution referred to was Columbian College, now George Washington University.

[22]Col. Charles J. Love to Jackson, April 15, 1829, *ibid.*, IV, 23.

and some other branches of mathematics, moral philosophy, belles letters, and such other branches that might be profitable to him as a farmer, and private gentleman. I have lost all hope of making him a classic scholar, and do not wish him to touch the languages, except to review those Books of latin and Greek that he has read, but wish him to understand his grammar well.[23]

For a farmer, this course of study would seem a bit superfluous, but for a gentleman, perhaps it was necessary. These comments of Jackson on the education of a gentleman and his desire that his ward become a polished scholar seem to indicate that Jackson, so far as his family circle was concerned, was not overly fond of the rough manners of the masses on the frontier.

Hutchings had been twice suspended from school and Jackson expressed grave doubts as to whether Mr. Otte could control him. He confessed that he would not know what to do should Mr. Otte prove unsuccessful, as he had determined "never whilst I hold my present office, to place one of my young relatives, either in the military school, or the navy." [24] A short time later, Hutchings made known a desire to go to Columbia in Washington. Jackson advised his friend, John Coffee, to permit him to do so provided he had not already entered Otte's school at Franklin.[25] At one time, Jackson went so far as to express his determination to bring Hutchings to Georgetown and enter him at a Catholic school where he would get discipline, even though it would be more expensive.[26] In 1831 A. J. Hutchings went to the University of Virginia, determined "to become a learned man."[27] Jackson proudly wrote that Hutchings "is now determined to become a scholar, his thoughts run upon Miss Mary McL. and I have assured him unless he becomes celebrated as a scholar, and polished gentleman, he need not aspire to her affections, that he has both in his power . . . [by] association with none but the first class of society, not of wealth, but of moral character." [28] This venture in education, too, proved abortive, for about four months later Hutchings withdrew from the university on the information that if he did not attend classes more punctually the next month he would be dropped.[29]

While Jackson's attention to the education of his wards is revealing, his views on education are even more clearly expressed in his reaction to the requests of various institutions of the day. In

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[23]Jackson to Brigadier-General John Coffee, March 22, 1829, *ibid.*, 14.
[24]*Ibid.* See also Jackson to John Coffee, April 8, 1828, *ibid.*, III, 398.
[25]Jackson to Brigadier-General John Coffee, June 13, 1829, *ibid.*, IV., 43.
[26]Jackson to Brigadier-General John Coffee, July 21, 1829, *ibid.*, 54-55.
[27]Jackson to John Coffee, September 6, 1831, *ibid.*, 348.
[28]Jackson to John Coffee, October 3, 1831, *ibid.*, 353.
[29]Jackson to John Coffee, February 19, 1832, *ibid.*, 405-06.

1793 Nashville Academy made him a trustee.[30] In 1826 the University of Nashville created two professorships, which they named for Lafayette and Jackson.[31] In these professorships, Jackson took a profound interest. Writing to General Plauche and others relative to the need of funds for the professorships, Jackson said that he knew the welfare of the country was connected with the "blessings of education which, without doubt constitute the chief support of the liberties which our forefathers have bequathed [*sic*] to us."[32] He described the status of the institution as one which "will extend its advantages to the poor as well as the rich, can prepare for the service of their country the sons of the farmers and mechanics as well as those who by fortune are exempt from the necessities of labour."[33] He asked the aid of the citizens of New Orleans in supporting the professorships. He even contemplated writing addresses and "extending" them to New Orleans and Charleston for this purpose and was willing to send them to Mobile, through Alabama, the Carolinas, Georgia and as far east as Boston. "If this should not succeed, I will then try a lottery."[34] A better propaganda minister than Jackson, no alumni association could wish for.

Some time later a man asked Jackson to sign a memorial to Congress requesting the appropriation of lands to establish a college at Paris, Tennessee. Although Jackson did not sign the memorial, he wrote Grundy to ask his assistance for this undertaking, which he viewed as "reasonable and beneficial to the education of the rising generation."[35] Possibly Jackson refused to sign the memorial because he did not believe the government should support private education, just as he believed or professed to believe that it should not build state roads. However, at about this same time there was quite a discussion and political conflict in progress between James K. Polk and Judge Hugh L. White on the one hand, and David Crockett on the other concerning the sale of waste lands in the western part of the state for the support of public schools. The Jackson supporters and Jackson himself favored the bill, but Crockett was opposed to it on the grounds that he felt the lands should be left open to squatters.[36] Later, Jackson in the rough draft of his

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[30]See W. G. Summer, *Andrew Jackson* (Boston, 1899), 77.

[31]In the year 1826, Cumberland College was rechartered as the University of Nashville. See T. P. Abernethy, *From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee* (Chapel Hill, 1932), 278-79.

[32]Jackson to General Plauche and others, May 26, 1826, *Correspondence*, III, 302.

[33]*Ibid.*

[34]Jackson to Felix Grundy, May 30, 1826, *ibid.*, 303-04.

[35]Jackson to Felix Grundy, December 10, 1837, in *American Historical Magazine*, V (April, 1900), 138.

[36]St. George L. Souissat, "Tennessee Politics in the Jackson Period," *American Historical Review*, XIV (October, 1908), 54-59.

first inaugural approved the distribution of the surplus in the United States Treasury among the several states for the purpose of education.[37] The address as revised under the surveillance of the party leaders, however, omitted this recommendation. Thus one can not justly say that Jackson was opposed to government assistance to education. He felt education was necessary in a republic. Upon one occasion he stated, "In this republic, education is inseparably connected with virtue and liberty; and he that improves its sources deserves the highest rank of public servants." [38]

One more matter of interest might be mentioned by way of concluding this discussion of Jackson's educational views—namely, his opinion on the conferring of honorary degrees. There is the well known occasion on which Jackson was granted the degree of Doctor of Laws by Harvard in 1833.[39] This action met with a considerable amount of opposition. The *Atlas,* a New York paper opposed to Jackson, exclaimed, "there was just as much reason for making him D. D. as L. L. D." and wondered that both degrees were not conferred at once.[40] The New York *Commercial Advertiser* commented that Jackson was "alike incapable of giving a correct construction to a statute or to write even a common letter with decent grammatical or orthographical accuracy." [41] The Salem *Register* reported a toast to Jackson, "In war a hero—in politics a statesman; in literature L. L. D. and A. S. S." [42] An even more caustic remark was made by J. Q. Adams, who did not attend the ceremony. In his diary for that day he wrote: "An affectionate child of my Alma Mater, I . . . [could not bear to] witness her disgrace in conferring her highest literary honor upon a barbarian who could . . . hardly spell his own name." [43] Jackson was criticized for accepting this degree, yet all Presidents prior to him had been granted this same honor. The immediate reaction among Jackson's friends was one of opposition to his being called "Dr. Jackson," but as *Niles' Register* pointed out, if there was "any wrong in this matter it was in general *Jackson's* presenting himself at the university" for the degree.[44] Perhaps he felt that being President entitled him to accept honors that former Presidents had received.

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[37]*Correspondence,* IV, 13.

[38]*Niles' Register,* XXXVII (November 21, 1829), 196.

[39]J. S. Bassett, *Life of Andrew Jackson* (New York, 1911), II, 638.

[40]J. S. Bassett, "Notes on Jackson's Visits to New England, June, 1833," in *Tennessee Historical Magazine,* VIII (October, 1924), 126.

[41]A. F. Davis, "A Tempest in a Teapot," in *ibid.,* 201.

[42]Salem *Register,* July 10, 1833, as quoted in *ibid.,* 202.

[43]*Diary* of J. Q. Adams as quoted in Marquis James, *Portrait of a President* (Indianapolis, 1937), 347.

[44]*Niles' Register,* XXXXIV (July 13, 1833), 323.

In spite of having accepted the honor from Harvard, Jackson had pronounced views in opposition to honorary degrees, as is indicated in several endorsements which have become detached from the letters to which they belonged. In one of these, undated, he wrote, "Lebanon Academy have elected me an honorary member. I have been notified in many instances of like honors being conferred, but I never could accept of an honorary title, where I had not a claim to the honor, conferred by some personal acts of my own. Therefore this is not responded to."[45] Again he wrote, "I am too old to be of any use to the society and having not accepted of many other honorary appointments of the like, permit my silence to be the indication of my non acceptance of this as it has been to similar ones."[46] One more example of his views in regard to this will suffice. Another endorsement was as follows: "Newyork, Clinton College appoints me an honorary member etc. I am too old to accept honorary tittles [*sic*], that I do not merit, therefore do not reply to any."[47]

Born of a humble parentage, and with heavy odds against him, a semi-orphan, and growing up in an era when even the most favored frontier children because of the Revolution and Indian uprisings were deprived of the educational attention they normally would have received, Jackson acquired a fair amount of liberal education. Perhaps more than most of his contemporaries he understood the true values of formal learning and encouraged his adopted son and wards to participate in those values. While he was somewhat reticent to subscribe fully to a program of federal aid to educational institutions, as an individual he encouraged their growth beyond the point of passive approval and at times supported a program for the extension of state aid to education. Either state or federal support of education was decidedly not a popular issue during Jackson's active career. On the basis of the support he urged for education alone, in the light of modern educational practice, Jackson deserved his Harvard degree.

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[45] *Correspondence,* VI, 416.
[46] *Ibid.*
[47] *Ibid.*

JOHN BELL AND SECESSION

By Joseph H. Parks

"A more sudden, utter, and inglorious defection was never suffered by a sacred and imperiled cause. It must excite unspeakable mortification, and disgust, and indignation, in the breast of every true and enlightened lover of his country. It is a burning scandal to the cause of constitutional liberty."[1] Thus spoke George D. Prentice, editor of the Louisville *Journal,* when he learned that John Bell of Tennessee, recently the candidate for the presidency on the Constitutional Union ticket, had abandoned the Union cause and cast his lot with the secessionists. A few days later the New York *Tribune* concluded a denunciation of the same gentleman with the lamentation, "Alas that such should be the ignominious close of the long public life of John Bell!"[2]

After a few years of meditation, the *Tribune's* editor, Horace Greeley, was even more pronounced in his condemnation of Bell's conduct. "Of the many who weakly, culpably allowed themselves to be beguiled or hurled into complicity in the crime of dividing and destroying their country, there is no name whereon will rest a deeper, darker stigma than that of John Bell."[3] James G. Blaine, another contemporary, was still more severe in his indictment of Bell. "If Mr. Bell had taken firm ground for the Union, the Secession movement would have been to a very great extent paralyzed," Blaine contended. "Tennessee would never have seceded, and the Rebellion would have been confined to the seven original States." Even Virginia would have been saved to the Union had the supporters of Bell "thrown themselves between the Old Dominion and the Confederacy." Blaine concluded that "A large share of the responsibility for the dangerous development of the Rebellion must therefore be attributed to John Bell and his half million Southern supporters who were all of the old Whig party. At the critical moment they signally failed to vindicate the principles upon which they had appealed in the preceding canvass for popular support."[4]

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[1]Louisville *Journal,* quoted in New York *Tribune,* May 3, 1861.

[2]May 17, 1861.

[3]Horace Greeley, *The American Conflict,* 2 vols. (Hartford, 1864), I, 482.

[4]James G. Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress; From Lincoln to Garfield,* 2 vols. (Norwich, 1884), I, 310-11.

These statements, coming from contemporaries who, at least some of them[5], once had been desirous of seeing John Bell president of the United States, would seem to award to him a position of greater influence in the ante-bellum period than historians have been wont to recognize. On the other hand, if such statements were the result of outbursts of emotion rather than a careful analysis of conditions, then it is possible that Bell's influence was overestimated.

Bell's political conduct during the period from 1848 to 1860 branded him as a leader of the southern conservatives. He opposed the war with Mexico principally[6] because he feared the sectional controversy that would be engendered by the inevitable annexation of territory. He opposed portions of the Compromise of 1850 on the ground that unless the question of slavery in New Mexico should be settled immediately by the admission of that territory as a state, the so-called compromise would prove to be but the postponement of a question which would grow more aggravated and would "irritate and fester in the public mind."[7] He opposed the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854 because he was unable to see any "practical advantage or benefit to the country generally, or the South in particular." Bell could not sanction any measure, he explained, which would endanger the Union by further inflaming sectional animosity unless it was necessary to do so in vindication of the rights of the South. If the old compromise should be destroyed at that time, he feared it would be but the sounding of the "tocsin for a general rally of all the worst elements of the Abolition faction."[8]

Such a middle-of-the-road course as that adhered to by Bell in these bitter sectional disputes was certain to bring down upon him bitter denunciation from the aggressive pro-slavery men of both major parties. All over the South he was denounced as a traitor to his section and as an ally of the abolitionists of the North.[9] It is true that Bell was commended by fellow conservatives of the North and even looked upon with favor by some members of the newly-organized Republican party.[10] But he was far from being the ally of any sectional group. On the contrary, he feared the disunion threats of both northern abolitionists and southern "fire eaters." As

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[5]Prentice supported the Bell-Everett ticket in 1860. On several occasions Greeley had suggested Bell as a suitable man for the presidency.

[6]He was influenced also by his inveterate hostility to President James K. Polk.

[7]*Congressional Globe,* 31 Cong., 1 Sess., Appendix, 1088.

[8]*Ibid.,* 33 Cong., 1 Sess., Appendix, 408-15.

[9]See files of the Nashville *Union and American* and the Memphis *Daily Appeal.*

[10]See quotations from eastern newspapers published in Nashville *Daily Union and American,* December 14, 1858.

early as 1850, Bell became seriously concerned over the threats of these groups, and concluded that the Whig party, of which he was a member, was so badly divided that it could no longer function as a great national party. To a few of his friends he proposed the formation of a conservative union party to which could be attracted the moderates of all sections and parties.[11] Apparently he received no encouragement for he immediately abandoned the plan (if not the idea) and attempted to revive the Whigs.[12] The demise of that party and the rise of the Republicans following the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill left conservative Whigs of the South in a dilemma. For southern slaveholders to go over to the sectional Republican party was out of the question. To many it was equally out of the question to join the Democrats, since the southern wing of that party was strongly tainted with sectionalism. To some the only choice remaining was an alliance with the "Know Nothings."

The Order of the Star Spangled Banner, a secret organization commonly referred to as the "Know Nothings," was organized late in the 1840's. Its program of intolerance of aliens and Catholics proved very popular in some sections. By 1855 most of the Whigs in Bell's home section had joined its ranks. But Bell moved with caution.

In September, 1855, he addressed a Know Nothing mass meeting at Knoxville. Never in thirty years of public life, he told his audience, had he been "so fearfully impressed by the dangers which impended over the country as at the present time." A crisis was at hand and our "frame of government" was facing a severe test. Passions in all sections were distempered and explosive. He believed there was no safety for liberty, rights, or property except "in the stern and successful maintenance of the constitution and the Union." Should these be destroyed, chaos and anarchy would reign until a Caesar or a Napoleon should establish a despotism.

There could never be "peaceful or bloodless" division of the Union, Bell asserted. Let no one "become the dupe of those visionary dreamers" who argued that states could "enjoy their separate liberties and independence, in peace and security." Those who advocated immediate disunion were probably small in number, but there were others who were madly pursuing schemes which could have no other consequence. A few agitators, he insisted, could cause more trouble than could be put down by the greatest of statesmen. There was still hope, however, that the patriotism of the

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[11]Charles Ready to Bell, January 3, 1851, in John Bell Papers (Manuscript Division, Library of Congress); T. A. R. Nelson to *id.*, January 10, 1851, in *ibid.*

[12]See summary of speech delivered before the Whig convention at Nashville, in *Republican Banner and Nashville Whig*, May 3, 1853.

masses might prove equal to the occasion when they came to realize that their Union was "likely to fall victim to the schemes of political gamesters."

Since Bell was speaking to a Know Nothing audience, he felt compelled to refer to the principles upon which that organization had been formed. Accordingly, he launched an attack upon the practice of allowing aliens to vote in American elections, but he did not openly advocate exclusion of naturalized foreigners and Catholics from the privilege of voting and holding office. Indeed, Bell was careful to evade a discussion of the anti-Catholic portion of the Know Nothing program. Neither was there anything in his speech nor past record which could be considered as a sanction of the policy of secrecy.

It is evident that Bell felt himself cramped by the narrowness of the party's principles, but at the same time he envisioned its development into a truly national conservative organization. He expressed the hope that "when sufficient time and reflection shall have been allowed, the creed of the American party will reflect faithfully every truly American principle and sentiment." The Whig party was dead, he explained, and since the new Republican party was organized on a single principle it could not endure unless the Union should be divided. Therefore, he hoped to see the American party take a position opposite the Democrats as a great national party. For the sake of the Union, he insisted that the new party exhibit a spirit of tolerance on the question of slavery. An attitude of defiance would be unwise and "wholly useless." There was little hope for harmony within the ranks of the Democrats since that party included a "hot headed class which is distinguished by the fierceness of their opposition to the north." But within the ranks of the American party were to be found "the truest friends of the Union, and such as have maintained a resolute opposition to all disorganizing doctrines of nullification and secession—all the more temperate and considerate portion of the southern people, who have cultivated a fraternal feeling between the two sections of the Union."[13]

Bell was invited again to Knoxville to address another mass meeting during the heated presidential campaign of 1856. Duties at Washington prevented his acceptance of the invitation, but he sent a letter further developing his fears for the safety of the Union and his attitude toward secession. Bell could see no assurance against the outbreak of civil war unless all true patriots rallied to the support

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[13]*Republican Banner and Nashville Whig,* October 21, 1855; *Brownlow's Knoxville Whig,* November 3, 1855.

of the Union rather than to party. The Union was definitely in danger, he insisted. "I regard the dissolution of the Union as the direst calamity which can befall the people—the people of the South as well as of the North." He had "no faith in the political metaphysics of those, who seek to establish a peaceful mode of breaking up the Union, by deducing from the Constitution a right of secession." Such a doctrine was denounced "as equally unsound, delusive and mischievous. Delusive, because it can have no efficacy in preventing civil war; and mischievous, because it tends to mislead, and seduce the people of a State into a revolutionary measure, for insufficient cause, under the false idea of immunity from the ordinary hazard of a revolt against an established Government."

The existing national crisis, Bell insisted, was a product of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. The "obstinate and uncompromising" attitude of the leading Democrats and Republicans made it improbable that they could work out a solution to the Kansas problem. And a continuation of their present course would inevitably plunge the nation into war.[14]

Although the above letter was political in its nature and was intended for publication, its contents were consistent with the opinions being expressed privately by its author. Writing to his friend William B. Campbell, Bell confessed a great fear of the results of either a Democratic or a Republican victory. In case the Democrats should win, Bell doubted Buchanan's ability to prevent the "ultraism of the leading spirits of his party," from plunging the country into war. On the other hand, a Frémont victory would "bring on a fearful crisis." But Bell immediately added: "I have no thought that his *election by itself* ought to draw off the South." The only wise course would be to wait and see what the Republicans proposed to do.[15]

Bell's fears proved well founded. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise did sound the tocsin for a general uprising of anti-slavery forces, and the struggle for Kansas brought tempers to a fever heat. The Buchanan administration was unequal to the task of terminating this bitter controversy.

The same conservatism which had guided Bell in his opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska Bill also determined his stand on the proposal to admit Kansas as a state. As a southern slaveholder, he preferred that Kansas should be a slave state. However, he explained on the floor of the Senate, "if in a fair competition it must

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[14]Bell to Rolfe S. Saunders *et al.*, August 26, 1856, in *Brownlow's Knoxville Whig*, September 13, 1856.

[15]Bell to Campbell, September 10, 1856, in David Campbell Papers (Duke University Library).

be so, let it be a free State; let it be retroceded to the Indians . . . ; let it become another Dead sea, rather than continue the pestilent source of mortal disease to our system."[16] He refused to support the proposition to admit Kansas under the pro-slavery Lecompton constitution because it did not have the "assent of the people of Kansas." All persons who wished to put an end to agitation over the Kansas question, he insisted, would support a proposal to "remit this constitution back to the people for their ratification or rejection."[17]

Bell's unionism lost him the political friendship of a large number of southern Whigs[18] and was partially responsible for the loss of his seat in the Senate,[19] but it brought him the Constitutional Union nomination for the presidency in 1860. In accepting this nomination and in endorsing the party's brief platform of *"The Constitution of the Country, the Union of the States, and the Enforcement of the Laws,"*[20] Bell expressed the determination that should he be elected he would "not depart from the spirit and tenor of my past course." Sound statesmanship in such critical times, he declared, demanded "moderation and justice," "a firm resistance to all measures calculated to engender sectional discord," and "devotion to the Union, harmony, and prosperity of these States." In his opinion, sectional discord could never be terminated until men of all sections were willing to give due observance to government according to the Constitution, accepting "its restrictions, and requirements, fairly interpreted in accordance with its spirit and objects." Should he be elected president, he pledged himself to use all the power and influence of that office "for the maintenance of the constitution and the Union against all imposing influences and tendencies."[21]

The nomination of Bell by the Constitutional Union party was probably unwise. He had been too prominent in the congressional struggles during the past decade. He was hated by the southern Democrats, and distrusted, if not hated, by the Toombs wing of the remnant of the southern Whigs. In the North he was admired for his conservatism on the question of slavery, but much of

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[16]*Cong. Globe,* 34 Cong., 1 Sess., Appendix, 788.

[17]*Ibid.,* 35 Cong., 1 Sess., Appendix, 139.

[18]See controversy between Bell and Toombs on the floor of the Senate. *Cong. Globe,* 33 Cong., 1 Sess., Appendix, 938-47.

[19]The Democratic Tennessee legislature, declaring Bell out of harmony with the expressed will of the people of the state, elected his successor in 1857 although his term did not expire until 1859. This same body also instructed him to vote for the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton constitution.

[20]Horace Greeley and John F. Cleveland, *A Political Text-Book for* 1860 (New York, 1860), 29.

[21]*Ibid.,* 213-14.

this admiration came from supporters of the presidential aspiration of Stephen A. Douglas. Some of the more moderate Republicans also looked with favor upon Bell. As late as July, 1859, Horace Greeley, through the columns of his *Tribune,* was toying with the idea of consolidating the groups which had opposed the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the Lecompton and English bills, and the further acquisition of foreign territory for the purpose of extending slavery. Bell was suggested as a possible leader of this proposed coalition. Did not Bell and William H. Seward occupy the same position on these questions? Greeley inquired.[22] Such suggestions as these further weakened Bell in the slave states.

There is no evidence that Bell expected to be elected president in 1860. During the opening month of the campaign he expressed the belief that either Lincoln would be elected or "the election will go to the Ho. Reps. & when there the chances will be that the Union candidate will be elected."[23] However, by July he was convinced that the "*present state of public sentiment* in the *free* States" made the election of Lincoln almost a certainty.[24] Defeat, therefore, came as no surprise to Bell, and did not elicit from him any outburst of bitterness.

It was the consensus of many members of the Constitutional Union party that the public duties and responsibilities of that party and its candidates did not end with the election of Lincoln. Washington Hunt of New York, chairman of the convention that nominated Bell and Everett, although not in the right mood for correspondence, wrote Bell: "Your position is a proud and enviable one. It enables you to render important aid in the work of reconciliation. History will do full justice to you and to the gallant band of union men who rallied under your banner."[25] Before this letter reached Bell, the South Carolina legislature had called for the meeting of a secessionist convention. The Mississippi congressmen had met with Governor John J. Pettus and recommended immediate secession, and a large mass meeting at Jackson had called for open resistance to the incoming Republican administration.[26] The Mississippi conservatives, though greatly out-numbered,[27] were still counselling moderation and delay. A Vicksburg group urgently re-

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[22]New York *Tribune,* quoted in Memphis *Daily Appeal,* August 2, 1859.

[23]Bell to Robert Ridgeway, May 27, 1860, in Bell Papers.

[24]Bell to Alexander R. Boteler, July 2, 1860, in Boteler Papers (Duke University Library).

[25]Hunt to Bell, November 21, 1860, in Bell Papers.

[26]Reuben Davis, *Recollections of Mississippi and Mississippians* (New York, 1889), 390-91.

[27]In Mississippi, Bell had polled 25,040 votes against 40,797 for Breckinridge and 3,283 for Douglas.

quested Bell to visit the state and use his influence to prevent rash action. But Bell had lost none of his caution. No one realized better than he the utter futility of any effort on his part to stay the tide of secession in Mississippi. He declined to visit the state, but he sent a detailed statement of his views relating to the crisis. The election of Lincoln, he stated, seemed to be regular and in accordance with the Constitution. He had long believed, however, that the election of a purely sectional candidate would endanger the Union. The election of Lincoln was certainly "a bold experiment upon the temper and forbearance of the South, and upon the strength of their loyalty to the Union." He would not say that it was "conceived in a spirit of disunion," but if that was not the case it certainly was made "with a reckless disregard of consequence."

Bell thought the only difference between the Republican party and the abolitionist societies was in the extent to which they were able to inflict "mischiefs" upon the South. But he hastened to add that Abraham Lincoln, if judged by his speeches and past record, was not an extremist. If the President-elect was sincere and possessed the moral courage to stand by his convictions, then the South had no reason to fear extreme measures. Bell believed that Lincoln's policy would be in "strict conformity" with his expressed sentiments. However, should it be contrary, the new administration would be "powerless for mischief . . . unless the Southern Senators and Representatives . . . should rashly, and, as I think, inexcusably resign their seats or retire from Congress, and thus voluntarily surrender the control of both Houses to the Republican party."

Bell next proceeded to analyze the membership of the Republican party and to explain the election of Lincoln. About one third of those who had voted Republican, he explained, did so because of "strong and inveterate" hostility toward the Democrats. They believed that Lincoln was the only man who could defeat that party. A second third of the Republican voters had joined that party in retaliation, expressing their resentment of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and "the attempt to force the Lecompton constitution upon the people of Kansas." These people had no desire to make war on southern interests. The remaining third Bell classified as dangerous. This group had an intense hatred of slavery and the South, and was either indifferent to the Union or "actually desirous of a separation of the free from the slave States."

After taking into account the seriousness of the problems resulting from the election of a sectional president, Bell still insisted that all real southern grievances could be satisfactorily adjusted within the Union. Even indignity and insult could be pardoned in the interest of "peace and harmony." Had not the South also

contributed liberally to the violent controversy between the sections?

In the closing paragraphs of his letter, Bell got down to the fundamental point—the doctrine of secession. The election had not changed his previously stated position. After due reflection, he had concluded that "secession is but another name for an organized resistance by a State to the laws and constituted authorities of the Union, or, which is the same thing, for *revolution*." He said he had long suspected that certain distinguished men of the South cherished schemes for disunion and were waiting only for a more plausible pretext for putting these schemes into operation.

Should Mississippi attempt secession, Bell concluded, she would take upon herself the responsibility of doing an act that would expose the peace and security of her sister States of the South to direct and eminent danger, and perhaps decide their destinies for weal or woe forever, without previous consultation with them, and first exhausting every peaceable mode of redress for the grievances of which she complains.

Viewing the subject in every light in which it can be presented, I am constrained to say that by no principle of Public Law, by no code of morals, by no law of Earth or Heaven, would Mississippi or any other State be justified, under existing circumstances, in withdrawing from the Union.

I am resolved to adhere to the Union. I will not say that in *no possible contingency* would I consent to a separation of the States. But I would exhaust every constitutional means for the redress of our grievances, before I would think of dissolving the Union. I am not willing that one State should be withdrawn from the Union—that one star should be stricken from the bright cluster which now emblazons the national flag.[28]

In the meantime, Bell's friend Gustavus A. Henry of Tennessee, had been sounding public opinion in parts of Mississippi and Louisiana. He reported to Bell that the people in those states were strongly in favor of secession and were unwilling to listen to plans for compromise or reconciliation. "I fear the old Union is gone forever," Henry lamented. "God knows I have done all I can to prevent it but I fear in vain." The most important question remaining was "ought we to stand idly by & suffer the small fry politicians & Demagogues to run away with every thing & have everything their own way?" Ought not Bell, especially, throw himself into the current and direct its course? There was no doubt about the cotton states seceding, Henry concluded. The only question was what would the border states do.[29]

By the time Henry's letter arrived, Bell apparently had conceded the temporary loss of the Lower South. He felt confident

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[28]Bell to A. Burwell, December 6, 1860, in *Republican Banner and Nashville Whig*, December 8, 1860.

[29]Henry to Bell, December 4, 1860, in Bell Papers. This letter was written from New Orleans so could not have reached Nashville prior to Bell's reply to Burwell.

though that no state north of Arkansas and Mississippi would ever join with the Gulf States in the formation of a southern confederacy. He ventured the opinion that even the cotton states would return to the Union after they had experienced a year or two of "what they now look forward to as the sweets of a new government of some kind."[30]

Meanwhile, Governor Isham G. Harris had issued a call for the legislature of Tennessee to convene in special session on January 7, 1861. Addressing that body on the opening day of the session, the Governor stated that the representatives of the people had been called together "for the purpose of calm and dispassionate deliberation." The North had climaxed the many "outrages" against the South, he explained, by elevating to the presidency a man who had "asserted the equality of the black and the white races." Attention was called to the poor condition of Tennessee arms resulting from the repeal of the law requiring militia drills and public parades. In the opinion of the Governor a convention should be called for the purpose of considering the problems with which the state was confronted.[31]

In accordance with the Governor's wishes, a bill was introduced in the senate, providing for the organization and equipment of "a volunteer corps." The unionists consolidated their forces in opposition. "Allow me to suggest that you . . . dont fail to come out against the proposed army bill, asking for a million of dollars to be put in the hands of the Governor," wrote S. D. Morgan to Bell. "If that bill is passed, and troops are raised, good by [*sic*]to our liberties in Ten- With the patronage it would carry with it any election, or even secession can & will be carried beyond a doubt."[32] Unionist strength was sufficient to block this military measure, and Bell was credited with its defeat. But the legislature did pass a proposal to submit to referendum the question of the calling of a state convention and set February 9 as the date for voting.[33]

Both secessionists and unionists carried on a vigorous campaign in preparation for the election. On the evening of January 22 Bell spoke before a "large audience" assembled in the chamber of the house of representatives, and according to an admirer, held his listeners "spell-bound" for two and one half hours.[34] He expressed

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[30]Bell to ? , December 10, 1860, in Bell Papers.

[31]Tennessee *Senate Journal*, 33 General Assembly, Extra Session, 1861, pp. 6-19.

[32]Morgan to Bell, January 22, 1861, in Polk-Yeatman Papers (Southern Collection, University of North Carolina Library).

[33]Tennessee *Senate Journal*, 33 General Assembly, Extra Session, 1861, pp. 49, 52, 109, 117; *House Journal*, 217; *Acts*, 16-17. See also summary of Bell's April 23 speech, in Nashville *Republican Banner*, May 10, 1861.

[34]Nashville *Republican Banner*, January 23, 1861.

confidence in the new administration, and criticized Governor Harris for having stated that Lincoln believed in the equality of races. Bell considered the proposed appointment of William H. Seward to the secretaryship of state "an auspicious omen" and evidence that the policy of Lincoln would be one of conciliation. There was no immediate danger of the adoption of any coercive measures directed at the South, he insisted. Therefore, he was opposed to the arming of Tennessee. He thought that the Union could never be dissolved, "but if it comes to the worst we can then form a Central Confederacy which will ultimately be joined by the cotton States."[35]

Pro-convention men were vigorous in their denunciation of Bell. Henry S. Foote made a "most terrible dissection" of his speech, charging that Bell had long been an "intimate friend and co-conspirator of Seward." He prophesied that within a period of two weeks Bell would receive an offer of an appointment from Lincoln and that the offer would arrive under the frank of Seward.[36] But disunionist efforts were not sufficient to arouse the voters of Tennessee and the convention proposal was defeated by a vote of 68,282 to 59,449. The total vote cast was 17,602 less than the vote for president in 1860 and 16,384 less than that for governor in 1859.[37]

The Union men in Tennessee were encouraged. Bell hurried off to Washington to be present at the inauguration and to seek conferences with officials of the new administration in the interest of "a pacific and forbearing policy toward the seceding States."[38] Not much is known of what he did while there or with whom he conferred other than the President. A correspondent of the Cincinnati *Enquirer* reported Bell's presence in the capital and thought him to be very much dejected over the probable effect the inauguration would have on the South. However, on the following day the same reporter telegraphed: "I hear to-day that John Bell has somewhat changed his views in regard to the inaugural, and bases hope on Mr. Lincoln's ambiguous expressions."[39] It is known that Bell conferred with President Lincoln and urged him to proceed with the greatest caution. The administration should not be deceived by the Tennessee vote of February 9, Bell declared. That vote was an expression of confidence that the new President "would

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[35]Bell's speech as summarized in Nashville *Union and American*, January 23, 24, 1861. The quotations are those of the reporter.

[36]Memphis *Avalanche*, January 30, 1861.

[37]*The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 129 vols. and index (Washington, 1880-1901), Series IV, Vol. I, 901 (cited hereafter as *Official Records*); Charles A. Miller, *The Official and Political Manual of the State of Tennessee* (Nashville, 1890), 167, 170.

[38]See summary of Bell's April 23 speech, Nashville *Republican Banner*, May 10, 1861.

[39]Cincinnati *Enquirer*, quoted in Memphis *Daily Argus*, March 9, 11, 1861.

administer the Government in a just, pacific and conciliatory spirit." Should Lincoln's actions betray this confidence, Tennessee's stand would probably be reversed.

Bell pointed out the importance of "affording no opportunity for a collision between the troops of the seceding States and those of the Government." As insurance against such a clash, he urged the evacuation of the federal forts within the South. Bell seemed to be clinging to the hope that after a cooling-off period the seceding states would voluntarily return to their positions within the Union. Conciliation alone had a chance to succeed, he assured Lincoln, a "policy of *coercion* by the use of the bayonet, could not succeed." In case the seceding states rejected conciliation, "the wisest course would be to let them go in peace."[40] Neither Lincoln nor the members of his cabinet made any definite commitments, but when Bell left Washington he was confident that the policy of the new administration would be pacific.[41]

Secessionists made little progress in the Upper South during the first month of the Republican administration. They were disarmed by the prevailing hope for compromise and conciliation. Lincoln did not show his hand until early in April, at which time he announced his intention to send supplies to besieged Fort Sumter. The Confederates opened fire on the fort on April 12 and it surrendered on the following day. Two days later President Lincoln issued his call for 75,000 militia. On April 17 a Virginia convention adopted an ordinance of secession. Governor Harris of Tennessee sent a defiant reply to the Secretary of War, and issued a call for the legislature to meet in special session on April 25. Revived and augmented secession sentiment in Tennessee gave evidence of sweeping all opposition before it. Those who one year earlier had pledged themselves ever to uphold the Constitution and the Union were faced with the necessity for a reappraisal of their loyalty. They must either support the Union government in its policy of coercion or they must join with the secessionists in their plans for defense.

Under the pressure of such times, John Bell was a pathetic figure. Brilliant in intellect, but slow in reaching decisions, and deliberate and cautious in action, he could never be a leader in a crisis.[42] He was never an idol of the people even though they continued to send him to Congress. His speeches exhibited orderliness

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[40]Summary of Bell's remarks relative to his conferences in Washington, Nashville *Republican Banner*, May 10, 1861.

[41]*Ibid.*; J. Fowlkes to Andrew Johnson, March 10, 1861, in Andrew Johnson Papers (Manuscript Division, Library of Congress).

[42]Oliver P. Temple, *East Tennessee and the Civil War* (Cincinnati, 1899), 230-37. Temple was a close friend of Bell.

and depth of thought, but too much dignity and formality decreased their effectiveness with popular assemblies. He was not a man whose appearance on a political platform would elicit from the audience a wild outburst of sincere enthusiasm. Even among his friends he was considered cold and reserved even to the point of selfishness.[43] Many admired and respected him for his ability and industry; few loved him for his personal qualities. In the face of Lincoln's policy such a man as Bell could not stem the onrushing tide of secession and civil war, and he was aware of the fact.

Mid-April, 1861, found Bell a sad, disillusioned, and embittered man. His love for the Union had not diminished, but he had little hope for its preservation. In his opinion, Lincoln had proved unworthy of the confidence southern moderates had placed in him, leaving them to be targets of abuse from irate secessionists. Bell was embarrassed by his own words recently spoken in a spirit of conciliation. No one realized better than he that the prosecution of Lincoln's policy would force Tennessee into armed resistance. "Physically, he [Bell] was regarded as a man of courage," wrote a friendly contemporary, "but he seemed to be powerless to resist a counter current of public opinion in times of high excitement."[44] The writer might have added, especially when resistance seemed futile.

On April 18 Bell took his first step toward rebellion when he and ten other Tennessee conservatives issued a statement to the people. They commended "the wisdom, the justice and the humanity" of Governor Harris' refusal to furnish troops for the coercion of the seceding states. They condemned the policy which had been adopted by Lincoln, but they disapproved of secession "both as a constitutional right and as a remedy for existing evils." Tennessee should neither join with the seceding states nor conform to the military demands of the Union. To do either "would at once terminate her grand mission of peace-maker, between the States of the South and the General Government." The abandonment of neutrality would be the abandonment of hope of reconciliation, and would inevitably lead to the shedding of blood on Tennessee soil.

Bell and his associates contended that Tennessee's role in the crisis should be that of defender of the "union and peace of the

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[43]In an outburst of irritation, William B. Campbell, probably the closest political friend Bell ever had, once stated privately: "There does not live a more cold hearted, selfish and artful scoundrel than John Bell." William B. Campbell to David Campbell, February 9, 1851, in David Campbell Papers. Boyd McNairy, another prominent Tennessee Whig, once complained, "Old [Andrew] Jackson told the truth about him [Bell], for *Self*, he would do any thing." McNairy to John J. Crittenden, November 23, 1847, in Crittenden Papers (Manuscript Division, Library of Congress).

[44]Temple, *East Tennessee and the Civil War*, 230.

country against all assailants, whether from the North or South." However, should the general government begin a war to subjugate the people of the seceding states, "we say unequivocally that it will be the duty of the State to resist at all hazards, at any cost, *and by arms.*" Since there was a strong possibility of an attempt to coerce, Tennessee officials should see that the state was armed sufficiently to meet any emergency.

Although fully prepared for defensive war, Tennessee should continue to devote her best efforts to the preservation of peace. A conference with the border states was urged. "There may yet be time. . . . Let us not despair. The Border Slave States may prevent this civil war."[45] In taking a definite stand against coercion, Bell was not inconsistent with his past record; neither was he out of harmony with the majority of the old Whigs in the other slaveholding areas of the Upper South.

Events crowded upon each other, and John Bell possessed neither the will to stand by the recently expressed policy of the Union nor the power to stem the wave of disunion. By April 23 he was almost persuaded to classify himself as a rebel if not a secessionist. Speaking before a mass meeting in Nashville, he declared that there was no longer any need to discuss the causes back of the existing crisis. "We must now look to the realities of the present and the contingencies of the future, and make such provisions for both as wisdom and prudence may dictate." A united North apparently was beginning a war of subjugation, he averred, and it must be met by a united South. A well-equipped militia should be organized and placed in readiness. At the same time, Bell advised discretion sufficient "to promote unanimity of feeling, and to secure the hearty co-operation of all our citizens as far as possible, in breasting the storm." He urged complete mobilization of the physical and moral power of the state, and pointed out that there were thousands who, although opposed to secession, would not hesitate to take up arms in defense of the South. He regretted his part in the defeat of the military bill, and admitted that, viewed in the light of subsequent events, it was a mistake. But at the time the bill was up for consideration he still had confidence in Abraham Lincoln.

Tennessee had strong ties with both the newly-organized Confederacy and the states to the north, Bell continued. Under existing circumstances, he could see no sound reason for a change of policy. Of course it was true that Tennessee's refusal to furnish

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[45]Washington *National Intelligencer,* April 23, 1861; *Brownlow's Knoxville Whig,* April 27, 1861. The other signers of the statement were Neill S. Brown, Russell Houston, Edwin H. Ewing, Cave Johnson, Return J. Meigs, S. D. Morgan, John S. Brien, Andrew Ewing, John H. Callender, and Bailie Peyton.

troops for the Union army had placed the state in a situation of "*quasi* rebellion." However, he could not see the wisdom of assuming a state of "actual rebellion" by adopting an ordinance of secession. Tennessee could cooperate with the Confederate States in defense without joining them in secession. Bell said that he regretted that he felt forced to recommend such preparation for defense, but he had been deceived by authorities at Washington and had concluded that no "reliance could be placed upon the Pacific disposition of the Administration."

Bell showed special concern over the position which Kentucky might take. Regardless of what future developments might bring, he thought that Tennessee and Kentucky ought never to act separately. He recalled that he had once stated that these two states, acting as a block, might be able to preserve the Union. While he did not wish to repeat that statement, he said that it was his hope that these states might remain united in purpose. For if war should come, Kentucky and Tennessee would undoubtedly become a battle ground.[46]

It is clear that Bell had despaired of any concessions from the Lincoln administration. And it is equally clear that he had no desire to see Tennessee become a part of a confederacy dominated by the cotton states under the leadership of such men as Jefferson Davis, Robert Toombs, and William L. Yancey. Bell was still clinging to the idea of a border state bloc which might be able to prevent civil war, and in the event the Union was dissolved, might form the nucleus of a confederacy to which the Lower South might adhere eventually. The friends of the Southern Confederacy were highly pleased with Bell's defection, and not too seriously concerned over the central confederacy idea. "John Bell, Andrew and Ed. Ewing spoke here [Nashville] night before last," wrote William B. Bate. "They are nearly right; so are Bailie Peyton and ex-Governor Campbell.[47] They want to help the South, but not in favor of uniting with it yet. I think I see a dagger behind that smile in the shape of a central republic; but we will grind out the idea; it has no lodgment with the masses."[48] Gideon J. Pillow informed the Confederate Secretary of War that Bell "has at last come out fully for the South. He held back as long as public opinion would tolerate him."[49]

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[46]Summary of speech, in Nashville *Republican Banner*, May 10, 1861.

[47]The Ewings, Peyton, and William B. Campbell had been very active in opposition to secession.

[48]Bate to Leroy P. Walker, April 26, 1861, in *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. LIX, pt. 2, p. 74.

[49]Pillow to *id.*, April 30, 1861, in *ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. LII, pt. 2, p. 69.

The Tennessee legislature met in called session on April 25. Jefferson Davis, the newly-elected president of the Confederacy, sent Henry W. Hilliard of Alabama to Nashville as a commissioner in the interest of secession. Hilliard, a supporter of the Bell-Everett ticket in 1860, had opposed the secession of Alabama, but following the fall of Fort Sumter, had become an advocate of the Confederacy.[50] His connection with conservative men in Tennessee made him a logical choice for the mission. Soon after his arrival in Nashville, Hilliard had a conference with Bell. According to Hilliard, Bell confided to him that "Tennessee would certainly become a member of the Confederate States, but that he could not so abruptly change his position as to favor that course immediately; that it would be more dignified to consider the Constitution before adopting it."[51]

Hilliard addressed the Tennessee legislature on April 30, and on the following day that body authorized the appointment of three commissioners to confer with the Confederate representative. Governor Harris appointed Washington Barrow, Gustavus A. Henry, and A. W. O. Totten, and they immediately drew up an agreement with Hilliard, placing Tennessee's military force under the control of President Davis. These three commissioners "were all Bell-wethers," a contemporary later commented, "and tinkled their bells, no doubt, at the said John's bidding."[52] It is true that Henry and Barrow had been prominently associated with the old Whig party, but it is not known whether they consulted Bell during their negotiations with Hilliard. The legislature approved the military agreement and framed an ordinance of separation to be submitted to the people for ratification on June 8.

On June 1 Bell left for East Tennessee, the stronghold of unionism. The exact purpose of his mission is still a question. Neither is it known whether the trip was made on his own volition or as a result of pressure from secessionists. At least some of his East Tennessee friends thought it was the latter.[53] Apparently he made the trip for the purpose of using his influence in the interest of armed resistance, if not secession. He spoke at Athens and Knoxville, but the reports of his speeches are meager and confused. Upon his arrival in Knoxville he apparently was shunned by most of his old Whig friends. On June 6 he spoke at the Knox County courthouse. According to William G. ("Parson") Brownlow, "few union

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[50]Henry W. Hilliard, *Politics and Pen Pictures at Home and Abroad* (Atlanta, 1892), 309-11, 325-29.

[51]Hilliard to Robert Toombs, May 1, 1861, in *Official Records,* Ser. I, Vol. LII, pt. 2, pp. 82-83.

[52]C. W. Hall, *Three Score Years and Ten* (Cincinnati, 1884), 140.

[53]Temple, *East Tennessee and the Civil War,* 234. Bell had many political friends in that section.

men attended." The East Tennessee unionists "found their old leader in the hands of a set of men who, only last fall, were denouncing him . . . as a d———d old Abolitionist, and traitor to the South! The union men had nobly defended Col. Bell against these slanders, and did not choose to countenance those who perpetrated them, by meeting around the same altar, to worship the false god of Disunion, where John Bell was to be the officiating Priest!"

According to the correspondents of the Knoxville newspapers, Bell was critical of the recent steps taken by the legislature, denouncing its actions as "unconstitutional and tyrannical." However, he expressed great concern over the division of sentiment in East Tennessee. He said that he was surprised to learn that any of his friends could suppose "that when this great contest had become, as it had done, a *war between the North and the South,* he could be found occupying any other position than that of *for the South.*" Bell explained that he still considered secession as "heresy" and was opposed to a Southern Confederacy. However, he realized that in his present position he must be classed as a "rebel."[54]

Following his speech, Bell walked across the street to the law office of Oliver P. Temple, where it had been arranged for him to meet with a group of his old Whig friends. "The meeting was embarrassing all around." Bell commented on the fact that none of the group had come to hear him speak. Brownlow then delivered a bitter denunciation of secession. Bell made no attempt to defend either secession or his own actions. And his old friends were careful not to utter "a word of censure or an unkind remark about him personally. All present had too much respect for his dignity, his exalted worth and his greatness, to wound him."[55] In order to relieve the tenseness, Temple proposed that the group walk to his home for "a glass of wine." He later said that during the course of the visit in his home, Bell admitted that had the Union leaders in Middle Tennessee stood firm in their loyalty, secession of the state might have been prevented. However, Bell "expressed no regret, made no apology for his own course." Throughout the entire conference, Temple thought Bell appeared "sad and dejected," and spoke with "deep and pathetic sadness."[56] The members of the group parted as friends, but no one had been converted to the cause of resistance.

On June 8 the people of Tennessee ratified the ordinance of separation by a vote of 108,399 to 47,233.[57] The total vote cast in

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[54]Knoxville *Register,* quoted in Athens *Post,* June 7, 1861; *Brownlow's Knoxville Whig,* June 15, 1861.

[55]Temple, *East Tennessee and the Civil War,* 234-35.

[56]*Ibid.,* 235.

[57]*Official Records,* Ser. IV, Vol. I, p. 901.

the referendum was 27,901 more than that of February 9. If all of the 69,274 persons who had voted for Bell in 1860 had remained loyal to the Union and voted against the ordinance, the secessionists would have won by a majority of 17,084. Even if Douglas' 11,350 votes had been added to those of Bell, Tennessee still would have seceded from the Union. The slaveholding areas of Middle and West Tennessee cast overwhelming majorities in favor of separation, but mountainous East Tennessee, in which there were comparatively few slaves, cast almost 33,000 of the 47,233 votes recorded against the ordinance. Efforts of the secessionists to win the support of the East Tennesseans had been a failure. One month after the referendum Landon C. Haynes wrote Leroy P. Walker, Confederate secretary of war, that it would take six regiments to put East Tennessee in line. "Moral power," he said, "can no longer be relied on to crush the rebellion [against the Confederacy]. No man possesses that power. Bell had more than any other man, but he is as helpless as a child."[58] Bell would have been just as helpless had he tried to persuade the slaveholders of the middle and western sections to remain loyal to the Union and assist in the coercion of their neighbors to the south.

[58]Haynes to Walker, July 6, 1861, in *ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. IV, p. 365. Haynes had toured East Tennessee in the interest of secession.

THE BUMPASS COVE MINES AND EMBREEVILLE

By Paul M. Fink

Within the boundaries of Washington County, Tennessee, no mineralized area of any importance has yet been discovered save that lying in Bumpass Cove, a small mountain valley some six miles long and two miles in width, at the southeastern border of the county. It lies on the southern side of the Nolichucky River and is drained by Bumpass Cove Creek, flowing into the river at the mouth of the Cove. By the strictest interpretation, Washington County today cannot claim all the Cove, for the Unicoi County line cuts diagonally across it near the center, leaving some of the richer deposits in that county. However, all the area was in Washington County until the creation of Unicoi County in 1875, and, due to its topography, it can be reached by road only through the Washington County gateway; for all intents and purposes, historically at least, it may be considered as being a part of the mother county.

Small though the Cove may be, its mineral deposits are rich and varied, and more than once its products have held an important place in the economy, not only of the surrounding region but of the nation as well. Four times at least—during the Revolution, the Civil War, World War I and today—metals from Bumpass Cove have gone into munitions of war to serve the country's needs.

The very first use of the minerals of the Cove was probably in prehistoric days. It is too much to suppose that the Cherokee Indians, some of whose villages were almost at the mouth of the Cove, would have overlooked the abundant outcrops of iron ore, yellow limonite and rich red hematite, that would have supplied pigments for the bright paints so dear to the Indian heart.

Yet the first metal to be produced here after the coming of the whites was not iron but lead. So early was this done that tradition tells us that bullets from this source were fired against the British in 1780 at the Battle of King's Mountain by Sevier's backwoods soldiery. The ore was so rich and so easily reduced to its metallic state that pure lead could be produced, even in an open wood fire, and bullets moulded immediately. The frontiersman's rifle was the great provider of his meat supply as well as the sole protection standing between his home and the ever-present threat of marauding Indians. A local source of lead was therefore of the

greatest importance, and naturally one that would be immediately exploited.

Records tend to corroborate this tradition. At a very early date one William Colyer took grants to various tracts in Bumpass Cove. Tax lists of the late 1780's show him assessed with "350 Acres of Land in Bumpres Cove."[1] In 1791 he transferred 550 acres, including what is today and has for decades been known as "Jackson's Quarry," to Louis Newhouse and Andrew Leuthold for £400.[2] This tract passed through several hands until in 1800 it, with other lands totalling 3100 acres, was sold to John Sevier, Jr., for $3000. Here the description reads in part: " . . . in which is included a lead mine commonly called Colyer's Mines. It also includes a place called Bumpers Cove."[3] From this we may safely infer that if in 1800 the place was "commonly called Colyer's Mines" it must have been given such a name because it had been developed during the period of Colyer's ownership, which terminated in 1791. As he had owned it for a number of years before that date, it is not unreasonable to suppose that lead from there had served the country well in Revolutionary days.

The changes taking place within the infant nation are evident in the chain of deeds conveying the property up to 1800. One is the transition in the kinds of money in circulation. Colyer sold for 400 English pounds in 1791. In 1793 the consideration was 500 Spanish milled dollars, but by 1800 the new federal coinage was in use, the deed reciting $3000.

Another point is the lack of uniformity concerning proper names so common at the time. The name of the Cove seems really and originally to have been spelled Bumpass, though for whom so called is not clear. An Isaac Bumpass lived in Washington County before 1790, but does not seem to have ever held any land in the Cove. In the deeds mentioned it is variously spelled Bumpres, Bumphers, Bumpers and Bumbers. Even more variants appear later.

Iron as well as lead was of vital importance on the frontier and search for workable deposits was under way at a very early date. The first located, or at least the first developed, in the western country was in Sullivan County, near Blountville. Here Col. James King built the first iron works in what is now Tennessee. His products were not only for the local markets but, both raw and wrought, were boated down the Holston River from Long Island Boatyard

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[1]Tax list in possession of writer.

[2]Deed Book No. 4, p. 261, Records of Washington County, Tenn.

[3]*Ibid.*, No. 6, p. 536.

(now Kingsport) to the lower settlements and even to Natchez and New Orleans.[4]

Production of metallic iron from crude ore then, and for a long time afterward, continued to follow two methods. The simpler and more widely used process was the small forge or bloomery. Here the ore was heated in a charcoal fire to a white hot, plastic mass and then lifted directly to the anvil, where under the blows of the ponderous, water-driven trip hammer, its head weighing hundreds of pounds, the slag and other impurities were driven out. Repeated heating and hammering produced a very serviceable form of wrought iron, not quite so good as that coming from the furnaces and refinery forges, but still much more readily produced under primitive conditions.

Cast iron came from the furnaces, which were all built of native stone. The raw ore was mixed with charcoal and limestone in the proper proportions, the mass ignited and, urged by a blast of cold air from great bellows driven by waterpower, melted and run into pigs or cast directly into pots, andirons and the other articles needed in frontier homes. At the refinery forge the pigs of cast iron could be heated and hammered by the same type of tilt-hammers used at the bloomeries and thus converted into bars of wrought iron. Crude rolling mills worked to convert a part of this into flat strips needed for the manufacture of cut nails. Bars and flats were sold from the iron works, to be shaped and fabricated by the local blacksmiths, who constituted a very important part of every community. As water power was essential for driving the heavy machinery, every iron works must perforce stand close to some stream, even though this should necessitate the hauling of the ore from some distance.

So important was the local manufacture of iron deemed on the frontier that in 1794 the territorial council passed a resolution that bears a marked resemblance to present-day draft deferment of men engaged in essential employment:

> Resolved, that fourteen of the principal artists belonging to any furnace for the manufactory of iron in this Territory be exempted from military duty, who shall not be called into service in case of insurrection or invasion unless his Excellency the Governor shall deem their services necessary.
>
> Resolved also, that not more than four of the principal artists of any bloomery in this Territory, be exempted from military duty, who shall not be called out in case of insurrection or invasion, unless their services shall be deemed necessary by his Excellency the Governor.[5]

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[4]A. C. Holt, "The Economic and Social Beginnings of Tennessee," *Tennessee Historical Magazine,* VIII, No. 1 (April, 1924), 35.

[5]*Journal of the Proceedings of the Legislative Council of the Territory of the United States South of the River Ohio,* September 29, 1794, p. 33.

In 1809 the Tennessee legislature showed its deep interest in encouraging the local production of iron by providing for the condemnation of public lands for the use of iron works, this land to have been certified as unfit for cultivation by a jury of view appointed by the court of the county in which located. It was not necessary that mineral deposits be located on the land in question, the main purpose being to provide an abundance of wood for the manufacture of the charcoal so vital in the production and processing of iron.

The exact year the iron deposits in Bumpass Cove were discovered, by whom and by whom first exploited, has not been definitely established but it is certain that it was not long after the beginning of the nineteenth century. At that time either a furnace or a bloomery stood on North Indian Creek, close to the present town of Unicoi, some ten miles from Bumpass Cove, and ore banks were being worked nearby. At this spot Gen. Nathaniel Taylor and Landon Carter were producing bar iron, to be packed on horseback five miles to the Nolichucky River and then floated on flatboats down to Knoxville and other points.[6] This plant was known as Swingle's Ironworks. At some time about 1808 it came into the hands of Elijah Embree, already experienced in iron manufacture in Sullivan County. He did not continue here very long, moving the scene of his operations to Bumpass Cove.

In 1812 William P. Chester bought for $1.00 per acre 260 acres of land on the south side of Nolichucky River, at the mouth of Bumpass Cove. Here he built, close to the bank of the river, a forge to reduce Bumpass Cove iron ore. Several years later Chester transferred the same tract of land to Elijah and Elihu Embree for $4500 and referred to it as "that tract of land on which Thomasville Forge now stands," the description also mentioning the tail race of the forge.[7]

In selling to Embree, Chester specifically exempted "so much [land] as will make 200 acres, including the Lead Hill or mine." Some years later this was transferred to Isaac Williams for 112 acres of land on Cherokee Creek, Washington County, and $1000 "in nails at 10c per pound."[8] Still later this mine came into the hands of Samuel D. Jackson, whose heirs operated it during the Civil War. Reference to this will be made later.

The difference in tense in the two conveyances from Chester

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[6]"The Good Old Times," an anonymous letter in the *Jonesboro* (Tenn.) *Herald and Tribune*, March 2, 1893.

[7]Deed Book 17, p. 89, Records of Washington County, Tenn.

[8]Deposition of Isaac Williams in suit, John Chester *v.* Wm. P. Chester and John P. Chester, Chancery Court, Washington County, Tenn., 1828 (in posssession of the writer).

to Embree may be the clue to the building of the second furnace, which until the Civil War stood not at the mouth of the Cove but about a mile and a half further up, a few hundred yards below the present ore mills. In 1819 the description states "where the forge *stands.*" In 1822 it says "where the iron works *stood,*" a good indication that in the interim a change in location had been made. During Chester's ownership the place had been known as Thomasville, and Embree seems to have retained the title while it was in his hands.

Immediately upon acquiring the property Embree set about enlarging the operations. In addition to building the new furnace he installed a rolling mill and a machine for making cut nails, the only kind then in use. Under the act setting aside public lands for the benefit of iron works he took grant after grant for numerous small tracts nearby. In the "Journal" of David A. Deaderick, son of David Deaderick, pioneer merchant of Jonesboro, we find a description of some of the machinery and equipment at both the old and the new locations, as well as a keen estimate of its value to the community:

In 1825 a company was formed at Jonesboro consisting of Henry Marsh, Sam'l Crawford, Thomas Emerson [Emmerson] and myself, and engaged Ezra Pierce to go to Georgetown, District of Columbia, to procure patterns, [and] learn to make Gideon Davis' patent plough . . . . The Davis plough has a cast iron mould board and cast point, but wrought iron points, steeled, were generally substituted. A cast iron, movable *heel, chilled,* was fixed [on] behind by screw bolts. The castings were made at Embree's Furnace in Bumpass Cove, some two miles above Embree's old rolling mill and nailery on Chucky River above Sluice Hill, and were the first mould boards cast in East Tennessee.[9]

Deaderick was of the opinion (under the date, 1828, in his "Journal"):

Our country, however, will never so much flourish as when we become a manufacturing people. We have water power without end to propel machinery, and in iron manufacture expecially, this county and the adjoining one of Carter will in time become celebrated. We have now in this county (Washington) and Carter many bloomeries for iron and two or three furnaces. In the adjoining county of Sullivan there is now and has been for some years a nail manufactory (Removed subsequently to Embree's on Nolichucky River eight miles from Jonesboro. D. A. D.) which has a salutary effect on the counties near it, in creating a market for many of the products of the country and in supplying an article of first necessity, which until the erection of the factory was obtained by land conveyance from Baltimore and Richmond. Quantities of nails are also furnished for the markets down the rivers, as far as Huntsville, and even Florence, Alabama.

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[9]S. C. Williams (ed.), "Journal of Events of David Anderson Deaderick," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications,* No. 8 (1936), 131-32.

All heavy articles of iron manufacture will be made in this country, I should think, before many years.[10]

This prophecy was to be realized in part in the next two or three decades. Already Embree was making cast ware of the highest quality, as evidenced in a merchant's ad in the Jonesboro paper:

For Sale.

Embree's 10 plate stove, of the oval form, handsomely carved and equal in beauty to any made in the Eastern States, at the moderate price of $20.00 each.

John G. Eason.[11]

For some years Elijah Embree (his brother Elihu having died in 1820) operated the plant with great success. His products were in constant demand, both locally and within such radius as they might be transported, either down the river or by packhorse over the rough roads. A bill of lading for a boat shipment has survived:

Thomasville 3rd Nov. 1830

Amt. of Nails put on Board of Messrs Wilson & Mitchell Boats, this day

	30 838	Iron
194 Kegs	30 814	Nails
also 1 keg	62	Nails

Elijah Embree
By Charles Embree.[12]

Encouraged by Elijah Embree's success, others entered the business. In 1833 Edward West, Montgomery Stuart and Elijah Embree entered a tract of 400 acres on Clarks Creek, just across the divide from the head of Bumpass Cove. Four years later West sold his undivided interest in the tract to the other partners, at which time it was described as "that tract or parcel of land on which is erected the furnace and improvements."[13] This clearly shows that the furnace was built between 1833 and 1837, for had it been standing prior to the first date the land would not have been open for entry.

This particular project was not long-lived, for it went out of blast permanently in 1844.[14] There were no iron deposits on Clark's Creek, and according to local stories, hematite was brought in wagons from the West Ore Bank in Bumpass Cove, at which spot there was no stream large enough to furnish power. Sometimes, to save a part of the long haul back and forth on the switch-backs, the ore was dumped out of the wagons at the top of the ridge and allowed to roll down to the foot of the slope, to be loaded again and carted on to its destination.

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[10]*Ibid.*, 133.
[11]*Farmers' Journal* (Jonesboro, Tenn.), Dec. 12, 1826.
[12]In possession of the writer.
[13]Deed Book 24, p. 22, Records of Washington County, Tennessee.
[14]J. M. Safford, *Geology of Tennessee* (Nashville, 1869), 464.

Like other furnaces of its day, the bellows for the air blast was pumped by a waterwheel, deriving its power from a mill race coming around the side of the mountain. This race is supposed to have given way, letting a flood of water descend on the furnace then in blast, quenching the fire and chilling the ore in process of being smelted. With the long haul the arrangement had never been very satisfactory, so the furnace was abandoned after the mishap. It still stands in ruins, a hundred yards from the stream, just at the Washington-Unicoi county line.

About the same time one Ab Davenport had a small, crude forge a mile further up Clark's Creek, at the deep hole called the Patton Hole. Here a sharp drop on the creek bed furnished the power to drive the heavy tilt hammer that beat the blooms from the forge into bars for wagon tires, an inch thick and four inches wide.[15]

Below Clark's Creek, some five miles further down the Nolichucky River, was another iron works, variously known as Mauk's Forge, Stuart's Forge and Pine Grove Furnace. Montgomery Stuart, operator at one time, was the same person interested in the Clark's Creek furnace and also a little later associated with Embree and others in the Embreeville works. This plant was a bloomery at first, later a furnace, and used ore from the Green Ridge deposits, on Horse Creek, in Greene County. In common with most forges, its product was partly utilized locally, the remainder shipped down the river. The ruins of the plat remained until obliterated by the high waters of 1901.[16]

Like many another operator, Embree at times found himself embarrassed by need of additional capital, even though his land holdings were thousands of acres and his manufacturing plant running in full blast. At one such period, in 1839, he entered into a partnership with Montgomery Stuart, John Green, Samuel Lyle, Robert L., John and William Blair and John A. McKinney, to form the Washington Iron Manufacturing Company. Embree's holdings comprised the iron works and some 30,000 acres of land, a half interest in which he retained in forming the company. The manufacturing plant was an extensive one for its day, for it was described as consisting of mills, forges, bloomeries, furnaces, factories, rolling mills, etc.[17] This Washington Iron Manufacturing Company was dissolved by agreement in 1844, with each of the members retaining his proportionate interest in the property.[18]

The formation of this partnership marks the entrance of the

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[15]Recollections of Ben Starnes, in conversations with the writer.
[16]Recollections of M. M. Mauk.
[17]Deed Book 23, p. 24, Records of Washington County, Tenn.
[18]*Ibid.*, 25, p. 220.

Blair interests in the Bumpass Cove mines, an interest to be retained in varying degrees for half a century. In the next few years following the dissolution of the Washington Iron Manufacturing Company, they acquired the undivided shares of the other minority participants. The price paid for that of John Green was not stated in dollars, but was 400 kegs of nails. When, after the death of Embree in 1849, his properties were sold to settle his estate, the Blairs, under the name of R. L. Blair & Bros., became sole proprietors.[19]

Blessed with excellent business ability and foreseeing an increasing market for their wares, the new owners set about developing the mines on a grander scale than ever. The name was changed to Pleasant Valley Iron Works, and in a few short years it became the largest producer in East Tennessee. In 1854, due to excessively low water, it ran for six months only, but in that time produced at its refinery (1 forge, 5 fires) a total of 480 tons of blooms, then worked them into nails. In addition some 700 tons of pig iron and castings were produced at the furnace.[20]

A high tribute to the economic worth of this plant to the surrounding region was paid by Lloyd Tilghman, chief engineer of the newly chartered East Tennessee and Virginia Railway, in his survey of resources and prospects of development in East Tennessee:

> I take great pleasure in speaking of the establishment of the Messrs. Blairs, situated on Chucky River for the manufacture of all kinds of iron works.
>
> I am familiar with all the best manufacturing districts in the United States and I am certain that these gentlemen possess in the way of water-power an amount not only greater but more available than any other establishment in the U. States, Nature herself having done for them in the way of dams, races, protection wall, etc., what art often fails to do, with a stream of water never failing and equal to driving machinery sufficient to manufacture Rail Road Iron to the amount of 50,000 tons annually. Their ore banks are capable of yielding 20,000,000 tons of Shot ore yielding 75 per cent that is delivered a distance of two miles by water at the furnace mouth for fifty cents per ton.
>
> A tract of timber of some two thousand acres furnishes charcoal at 2½ cents per Bushel.
>
> I regret that the want of means alone will prevent these gentlemen from manufacturing our Iron, though contracts can be offered them for the Iron chairs, spikes, etc., etc., to the amount of 100,000 dollars, which I am sure they can furnish at lower rates than they can be had at the North.
>
> This is unquestionably the most valuable tract of land in E. Tennessee and deserves the patronage of this road.[21]

The Blair furnace, fueled with charcoal, as were all the Ten-

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[19]*Ibid.*, 29, p. 161.

[20]Safford, *Geology of Tennessee*, 451, 467 *et sub.*

[21]Lloyd Tilghman, *First Annual Report of the Chief Engineer to the President and Directors of the East Tennessee & Virginia Railroad* (Jonesboro, 1850).

nessee furnaces at that time and for years afterward, was built of rough stone and located not far from the banks of the creek, only a little below the present shops and mill. Some twenty-five feet high, it stood close under a cliff, to which it was connected by a pole bridge, over which ore, limestone and charcoal were carried to charge the furnace. Mrs. Lizzie McNabb, born in 1854 and a life-long resident of the Cove, recalls that as a tiny child her mother would take her to see the furnace in blast. The one thing that most impressed her childish mind was the tiny tram car that, filled with ore, was pushed by men back and forth across the bridge.

Nothing remains of this furnace today but the site, cumbered with a few quartzite boulders whose vitrified surfaces tell plainly that they were a part of this development. A road on top of the hill at the brow of the cliff cuts through a bed of charcoal dust 150 feet long and in places three feet thick. Interspersed among the coal dust particles are chunks of iron ore.

The firing of such furnaces and forges demanded charcoal in vast quantities and its production was quite a sizeable industry in itself, employing many men in the woods cutting the timber and superintending its burning in the pits. The master collier was an important cog in iron manufacture and demanded good wages. No iron maker ever conceded that he had enough forest land to supply his needs.

The wood for charcoal was cut into four foot lengths and hauled on sleds to the "hearth" or "pit," a cleared, level spot in the forest, some forty feet across. Here, about a small chimney built of sticks, the billets were stacked closely on end in tiers to a height of fifteen feet and covered, first with a layer of dry leaves, and then with charcoal dust and dry earth a foot thick. Fire was then set in the chimney, the opening closed and the whole mass of wood allowed to burn without much air until the whole was completely charred but not reduced to ashes, the process taking as long as two weeks to complete. The finished product was hauled away in wagons; and at the furnace it was carried in wide, shallow split baskets in making up the charge.

When the southern states seceded in 1861 and hostilities began, all iron works within the boundaries of the Confederacy immediately became of vital importance, for the South had long been dependent on the North for most of its metal ware. The needs of the Confederate army for cannon, shells and every sort of munition of war must now be supplied at home. So the eyes of officialdom quickly turned to the Pleasant Valley Iron Works, with the idea of quickly increasing exploitation of all the mineral resources of the Cove.

In fact, it was not iron but lead which received first attention. The original Colyer's lead mines had been out of production many years and long previously had passed into the hands of Samuel D. Jackson and his heirs, one of whom, Alfred E. Jackson, was soon to become quartermaster general in the Confederate army. At one of the extra sessions of the state legislature soon after secession, a charter was granted to A. Jackson, W. B. Deaderick, N. J. Jackson and associates to form the Bumpass Cove Lead Mining Company. A capitalization of not less than $100,000 was authorized, and the governor and the military and financial board were empowered to contract with the company for lead for military purposes.[22]

All information to be gleaned as to the operation of this company comes from local tradition, telling that lead ore was mined during the Civil War and was sent down the river to Knoxville for refining and use. Yet there can be little doubt that lead from Bumpass Cove played well its part in the Confederate cause.

To enlarge the production of iron the services of a man of national stature were enlisted—Duff Green, politician, journalist and industrial promoter. At one time a member of Andrew Jackson's "Kitchen Cabinet," he transferred his allegiance to John C. Calhoun (his relative by marriage), and later, though neither slaveholder nor secessionist, espoused the cause of the Confederacy, and under it was given large contracts for iron production. His first operations were in the Coosa Valley, in Georgia, and in 1862 he acquired the Pleasant Valley Iron Works. About that time he entered into a contract with Josiah Gorgas, Confederate chief of ordnance, under which one half of the total product of all his plants was to go to the government, the balance permitted to be sold for civilian uses.

The operations in both localities were carried on under the name of the Confederate Iron Works, and in them were produced great quantities of guns, shells and other munitions, as well as railroad iron, horse shoes, nails, castings and bar iron for other purposes. Whether guns and shells were made at Embreeville is not clear. At any rate, the reports of the Ordnance Department were to the effect that the Confederate Iron Works had proven of immense value in the operations of Generals Bragg and Longstreet in their East Tennessee campaigns.[23]

The furnace formerly in operation had much too small a capacity for the greatly increased demand; so a new and larger one

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[22]*Private Acts of Tenn.*, 1861, First Extra Session, Chap. 3, pp. 69-70 (May 7, 1861).

[23]Fletcher M. Green, "Duff Green, Industrial Promoter," *Journal of Southern History*, II (1936), 29-42.

was built on the south bank of the river about a mile below the mouth of Bumpass Cove, close to the present store of the Chucky Trading Company. This was an enormous structure for its kind, fully thirty-five feet square at the base, with its cupola forty feet above the ground, all built of roughly cut native stone. Another was planned on the north bank of the river, a mile upstream. Here a race for the waterpower was dug and the base of the furnace laid, but evidently the war ended before it was carried to completion. Evidences of the race are still to be seen near the highway.

Removal of the furnace from close to the ore deposits called for new methods of handling. The ore was hauled by little trams from where it was mined, at Sugar Hollow and elsewhere, to the mouth of the Cove and there washed. Female employment developed, like present-day war procedure, for one of those engaged in ore washing was Mrs. Ruth Ralston, a local resident. Tradition says she made as good a hand as any man on the job.

After being washed, the ore was floated on barges to the furnace along a channel dredged close to the river bank; the empties were hauled back upstream by horsepower.[24]

In Civil War times as today, exemption from military service was granted in essential occupations. Evidence that labor at the Embreeville Works was considered vital to the national interest is shown by an advertisement in one of the Jonesboro papers:

Laborers Wanted.

To aid in the manufacture of iron for the Confederate States, at Embreeville Iron Works, in Washington County, Tenn.

Liberal wages will be given axemen to cut cordwood and to all persons employed about the Works. Mr. Fisher and Mr. Meek, at the Works, are both authorized to give employment and all persons so employed are by law exempt from being enrolled as conscripts.

Duff Green,
Contractor & Proprietor.[25]

Evidently the offer of freedom from conscription did not overcome the manpower shortage. Civil War procedure went even further than we have yet done in World War II, for it became necessary to resort to drafting labor. A year after the first appeal, another was made, this time for those already in line for conscription:

Nitre and Mining Bureau
Jonesboro', Tenn. Feb. 1864.

200 conscripts wanted. The above number of good, able-bodied men can be detailed for service at the Iron Works of Gen. Duff Green, to make

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[24]Recollections of Mrs. Lizzie McNabb.

[25]*Jonesboro* (Tenn.) *Express*, Vol. I, No. 158, Jan. 16, 1863.

iron for the Government, by applying to me at Jonesborough, Tenn. Teams and wagons also needed. Good wages paid.

John W. Pearce,
Lieut. Nitre & Mining Corps.
Supt. District No. 7.[26]

With the collapse of the Confederacy in the spring of 1865, business slumped, but the far-seeing eye of Duff Green envisioned a yet greater peace-time future for the place. In association with Calvin Hoss, Charles J. McKinney and others, he incorporated the Tennessee Mining and Manufacturing Company, with an authorized capital of $200,000.[27]

Their plans were ambitious. On their holdings of 40,000 acres, coal mines as well as iron mines were to be developed. On the fertile river bottom lands crops of flax and cotton were to be raised in addition to food-stuffs; mills and factories, grist and flour mills, and sawmills were to be built to process the fibers into fabrics, the grain into flour, and convert the timber into building materials. To house the labor required to man all these industries, plans were laid to build a town sufficiently large to accommodate 20,000 inhabitants, and, to supply at least a portion of the power to be needed, a provision was inserted in the act granting the charter, declaring the Nolichucky River unfit for navigation above Embreeville and permitting the construction of one or more dams.

Capable business man though he had proven himself to be in the past, Green could not foresee the paralyzing effect of the Reconstruction period on all southern industry. His ambitious plans were doomed to failure, before they could be gotten under way, and he was not able to continue the payments called for under the original purchase contract and the property reverted to its former owners, the Blair interests.[28]

The wording of the decree in this lawsuit throws an interesting sidelight on the bitter factional feeling existing in East Tennessee just after the Civil War. While it was admitted that default had been made in the payments due, a sufficient cause in itself for foreclosure, the court gratuitiously threw in a few other reasons: "The liability of the defendants to the complainants issuing out of the contract was to be discharged in current bank or Confederate Treasury notes and was therefore a contract against public interest, illegal and void"; also, "the consideration upon which the contract under which the defendants claim is wholly illegal and void."[29] Any

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[26]*Jonesboro* (Tenn.) *Daily Telegraph*, Vol. I, No. 12, Feb. 6, 1864.
[27]*Private Acts of Tennessee*, 1865, Chap. 26, pp. 103-05.
[28]Decree in case R. L. Blair, *et al. v.* Duff Green, Minute Book E, p. 157, Records of Chancery Court, Washington County, Tennessee.
[29]*Ibid.*

former adherent to the Confederacy got short shrift in the courts in those troubled days immediately after the war.

The Blairs do not seem to have done any operating on their own account after regaining title to the property, which in 1870 they sold again, this time to Bradley and Company.[30] This firm appears to have operated for several years with fair success, for some new buildings were constructed,[31] and in 1873, as the only furnace operating in Washington County, was reported to have a production of 200 tons of iron per month.[32] That same year over two million pounds of pig iron and bloom iron were shipped from Jonesboro by rail, most if not all of which evidently originated there.[33]

Other than this meagre information, little has come to light concerning the operations of Bradley and Company. They were not successful over a long period, however, for litigation was instituted by the mortgage holders, resulting in the title once more reverting to the Blair interests.[34]

A photograph of the furnace made in 1885 shows it then to be in ruined condition, all the wooden ramps for charging and other framework gone, the buildings and sheds torn away and nothing remaining but the stack alone. So it stood until the high waters of the May tide of 1901 levelled it.

As early as 1885 attempts were being made to interest foreign capital in the purchase of the property. At that time the eyes of many moneyed men in England were turning toward America as a field for investment, and after negotiations during that year it appeared certain that a sale would be consummated. The banking house of Rickard Brothers of London undertook to syndicate 25,000 shares of stock in the project, which, with the investments of others interested, would insure the floating of the company and the development of the property.[35] For some reason not known this trade fell through.

At this time title to the property was vested in the many heirs of the original firm of R. L. Blair and Brothers. By a series of purchases three of the heirs, John C. Anderson, Isaac Anderson and John H. Caldwell, acquired the undivided interests of all the other heirs and as sole owners placed the property in the hands of Charles

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[30]Decree in case T. J. Wilson, Trustee, *v.* R. L. Blair *et al.*, Minute Book F, p. 66, Records of Chancery Court, Washington County, Tenn.

[31]*Jonesboro Herald and Tribune*, Jan. 26, 1871.

[32]J. B. Killebrew, *Introduction to the Resources of Tennessee* (Nashville, 1874), 234.

[33]*Annual Report of the E. T., Va. & Ga. Ry.*, 1873.

[34]Decree in case Exchange & Deposit Bank, *et al. v.* C. W. Bradley, *et al.*, 83 Tenn. Supreme Court *Reports*, 279 (Sept. 12, 1885).

[35]Letter of Thomas Watson, London, to John L. Blair (in possession of the writer).

E. Dosser, an attorney of Jonesboro, for sale. Contact was soon made with another group of British capitalists, resulting in the sale in 1890 to a syndicate operating under the title of the Embreeville Freehold Land, Iron and Railway Company, Ltd.

Again great plans were made for the development of Embreeville. The old, antiquated idea of stone, charcoal-fired furnaces was thrown into the discard and a modern hot-blast furnace, with a daily capacity of 150 tons of pig iron, was built on the flats about a quarter of a mile below the mouth of the Cove. The Southern Railway built a spur line from Johnson City, fifteen miles away, to bring in coke and to haul away the furnace products. By 1892 the installation was complete and the plant was running full blast. A newspaper item or two tell of the activities:

> The 150 tons furnace is in full operation and the daily output is about 135 tons of high grade iron. They have employed in the mines about 250 men. They also have in operation two washers with a daily capacity of 250 to 300 tons of ore. Though the iron market has been at a low ebb for some time the Company has succeeded in disposing of from five to seven carloads per day for the past two weeks. Not much has been done by the Town Company toward improvements, but they propose in the near future to make some progress along that line. One new storehouse has been built by Dosser Bros., and we are informed that another is to be put up soon.[36]

Previously it had been announced:

> On Monday of this week a check for $24,964.50 was deposited in the Jonesboro Banking & Trust Company by the Embreeville Freehold Land, Iron & Railway Co., being the proceeds of the sale of iron. The Embreeville company have had their furnace in blast for a few weeks, and the prospects are good for their doing a big business, as this transaction indicates.[37]

The English promoters had as broad developments in mind as had Duff Green thirty years before. A subsidiary, or at least companion organization, was the Embreeville Town Company, created under the English laws to establish the town and other industries planned to surround the furnace site. Under its charter, it was specifically empowered to enter many various types of business, farming, meat packing, manufacturing, mercantile, mining, real estate, banking, investments, etc., in fact, almost any conceivable pursuit its management might fancy. Its first stated object was to acquire and develop two tracts of land in Washington County, totalling about one thousand acres.[38]

Steps were soon taken toward this end. A town site was laid out just north of the furnace stack. Streets were graded and houses built for officials and employees. The architecture of some of the

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[36]*Jonesboro Herald and Tribune,* Aug. 2, 1892.
[37]*Ibid.,* May 12, 1892.
[38]Deed Book 63, p. 421, Records of Washington County, Tenn.

more elaborate was an adaptation of the English half-timbered style, and in them today can be found a lingering trace of English ownership. Mountain streams were impounded to provide a water supply for the embryonic town, and sewer lines laid.

Just as things were getting well under way with bright and rosy prospects, financial troubles arose to plague the new plant. The financial panic of 1893 brought business to a standstill in the United States, and abroad the banking house that had furnished backing collapsed. Deprived of a market for its product and with no place to look for financial assistance, the furnace shut down. An attempt was made to resume operations in May, 1893. At an elaborate ceremony an address was made by Hon. A. A. Taylor, member of Congress, while the furnace fires were lit by Mrs. Taylor.[39] This revival of activity was short-lived, for in a few weeks an assignment was made of all personality to secure debts totalling $34,000,[40] and the next year the furnace itself and all the lands of the company were sold through the court for $130,000 to George Babington Parker, representing the London Trust Company, holder of the mortgage bonds on the property.[41]

Parker immediately took steps to insure that his title was clear beyond a doubt and that no conflicting claims might arise as to title for any small inholdings throughout the vast tract, all derived from a great number of grants and subsequent transfers. A survey was made consolidating the outer boundaries, and then a grant embracing the whole area was secured from the state.

A strange conflict as to acreage runs through all of Parker's transactions. When advertised for court sale early in 1895, at which time he acquired the property, the tract was said to contain some 47,000 acres, lying in the counties of Washington, Greene and Unicoi. His grant, dated in March, 1895, called for 5000 acres, but when a few days later he sold, the conveyance was for 25,000 acres, more or less. Later transactions show that the correct figure was in the neighborhood of 29,000 acres.

The next owner, following Parker, was another English organization, the Embreeville Iron Company. This held and operated only about three years. In 1899 the property passed into the hands of the Virginia Iron, Coal and Coke Company, which at the time was producing iron from several other localities in East Tennessee and southwestern Virginia. This ownership was in turn of short duration, for in 1903 New York and Chicago interests, headed by

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[39] *Jonesboro Herald and Tribune*, May 4, 1893.
[40] *Ibid.*, June 22, 1893.
[41] Minute Book L, p. 400, Records of Chancery Court, Washington County, Tenn.

C. P. Perin, acquired possession under the name of the Embree Iron Company.

Up to this time all mining had been done by hand, with pick and shovel, a slow and uneconomic method, especially when large quantities of ore are needed. The new owners proposed a cheaper and more efficient means of handling the raw material—hydraulic mining. A huge pump, one of the largest of the kind in the country, was installed at the river and water forced through several miles of sixteen-inch pipe to the working. There, under heavy pressure, streams of water from giant nozzles washed away the clay overburden and sluiced the ore down to the washers. Even the much increased output of ore thus provided could not satisfy the needs of the furnace and additional quantities were shipped in from other mines in East Tennessee.

From causes beyond any local control the end of profitable iron mining at Embreeville was drawing near, just as it was for many another small furnace elsewhere in the county. The discovery and development of the vast iron ranges in Minnesota, where richer ores could be produced in inexhaustible quantities at lower costs, was the determining factor. This high grade ore could be transported by water freight to the lake shore of Ohio and nearby states, close to an abundant coal supply. Huge furnaces were erected there which could produce pig iron much more cheaply than could be done in smaller units, further from coal and smelting a lower grade ore.

In 1909 the Embreeville furnace produced less than 50,000 tons of pig iron. That year the fires were extinguished for the last time. In 1918, in the midst of the first World War, the furnace was dismantled and prepared for shipment to Japan. It never reached its destination for the war ended while it was on the dock in Seattle, and it was there sold for junk.[42] Following the closing of the plant, the Embree Iron Company was reorganized in 1913, when the Chicago stockholders, headed by the Wheeler interests, took control.[43]

Zinc had been known to exist in Bumpass Cove for many years; in fact, its presence had been at times a hindrance in the smelting of iron. In the days of the old charcoal furnaces in the Cove, zinc fumes from the ore of that metal mixed with that of iron had formed layers of zinc oxide inches thick on the upper part of the furnace. Analysis showed this to be 80 per cent metallic zinc, but no use was made of it.[44] So long as iron was the metal in production no effort was made to exploit the zinc deposits.

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[42]Recollections of Elliot Wheeler.
[43]*Ibid.*

With the closing of the iron mines more thorough prospecting was inaugurated, rich bodies of both lead and zinc were discovered, and production of these new metals was begun. No effort was or has yet been made to reduce these ores to their metallic form, as had been the case with iron. The crude ore as it came from the ground was washed to remove loose dirt, milled to free it from a large part of the gangue or waste material associated with it, and then the resulting concentrate was shipped to refineries elsewhere.

In 1913 the first zinc concentrates were shipped. The outbreak of the war in Europe the next year, our entry into the conflict in 1917, and the first few years of reconstruction thereafter created a demanding market. In the five years from 1916 to 1920, the Embree Iron Company shipped over 100,000 tons of 40 per cent zinc concentrates and 15,000 tons of 60 per cent lead, or not less than 3000 freight car loads.[45] To this product of the Cove in war time is to be added that shipped by the Tennessee Zinc and Lead Company, which in 1913 bought the Jackson holdings of about 700 acres and for several years operated very successfully.

Following the flush war markets, the mines have continued to produce zinc and lead in varying quantities to the present date. And in the past ten years a new mineral, manganese, has been added to the list of the resources of the Cove.

Manganese is an essential in the manufacture of steel and other metallurgical and chemical processes. The United States has never been able to supply its needs, and in normal times imports over 95 per cent of its requirements from abroad, mainly from Russia, India, South Africa and South America.

During the days of iron mining it was known that manganese existed in Bumpass Cove. A little prospecting was done during the first World War, but no particular effort was made to exploit the findings, for all energies were devoted to getting out the recently discovered zinc. In 1934 prospecting was resumed in earnest, followed by intensive mining by both underground and open-pit methods. As drilling revealed other and larger deposits, the production was stepped up, until in 1939 the Bumpass Cove mines were the largest producers of metallurgical manganese in the United States.[46] As had been the case more than once before, Bumpass Cove and Embreeville held an important spot in the metal production of the country.

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[44]Gerard Troost, State Geologist, *Ninth Geological Report*, (Nashville, 1848), 29.
[45]Records of the Embree Iron Company (in Embreeville, Tenn.).
[46]Stanley O. Reichart, *The Manganese Resources of East Tennessee* (Nashville, 1942), xiii, 129 *et sub.*

OBSERVATIONS ON CULTURAL ISLANDS IN TERMS OF TENNESSEE AGRICULTURE*

By Walter M. Kollmorgen

Several weeks ago I had the opportunity of visiting the Agricultural Experiment Station at Jackson, Tennessee, where excellent work is being done in developing all-year pasture programs by Mr. Ben P. Hazlewood, superintendent of the station. Although Mr. Hazlewood began his work on pasture programs only about fifteen years ago, his achievements are already receiving national acclaim because of the promise they hold for the agriculture of Tennessee and other southern states.

Crimson clover is the keystone in Mr. Hazlewood's all-year pasture program. This splendid legume covers the fields in the fall and winter when most fields in Tennessee lie idle. Thus, when these fields are most subject to erosion, crimson clover saves the soil from washing rains, adds to its fertility (nitrogen and organic material), and feeds grazing stock, not to mention the beauty it adds to the countryside.

Mr. Hazlewood's all-year pasture program lends itself exceedingly well to dairy farming, which is one form of agricultural activity which can be and apparently should be much expanded in Tennessee. Even with an all-year pasture program, dairy cows should be fed some hay, and one of the best types, from the standpoints of both palatability and nutrition, is alfalfa. With adequate supplies of alfalfa and crimson clover, a dairy or beef farmer has gone far in solving his feed problem. In fact, Mr. Hazlewood has demonstrated that with his all-year pasture and the use of hay and ensilage, dairy cows can be kept in good weight and high production without the use of concentrated feeds. If you are familiar with the serious feed-shortage problem confronting farmers in Tennessee and other southern and eastern states, you will realize in part the importance of the above development. The all-year pasture is an aid not only during these critical war days, for even during more normal times much feed is shipped into the South with the result that livestock feeding is more expensive than it need be. The all-year pasture is

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perhaps the most practical plan we have for making agriculture in the South both permanent and prosperous. In this connection it is well to recall an apt statement made by a noted southerner, Mr. Hugh McRae of Wilmington, North Carolina, that "the South will prosper only when its fields are green in winter."

This brief reference to Mr. Hazlewood's work at the Jackson Experiment Station may sound like a far cry from cultural islands in Tennessee. But the two are not so unrelated as they may seem. Both crimson clover and alfalfa were first grown successfully in Tennessee by the German-Swiss in Franklin County. As early as the 1870's they made the first attempt to grow alfalfa, and by 1900 the problem of growing this splendid hay crop in a new environment had been mastered. A few years later crimson clover was also grown successfully.

Today, the Franklin County area is the center of the crimson clover-seed-growing section in the United States, and the German-Swiss are in the very heart of this section. This is only one of numerous examples of how Tennessee agriculture has been enriched by cultural islands. Without the preliminary, pioneer work of these immigrant farmers in growing these legumes, the all-year pasture program referred to above might well have been long delayed. The German-Swiss made other important innovations. In the section they settled they were the first to introduce a successful form of diversified farming which gave much emphasis to stock culture. They also introduced fine farm improvements, including good barns. Many new forms of farm machinery were first used by these people before others in that section of the state adopted them.[1]

Another important contribution to the agriculture of Franklin County was made by the son of a former Iowa farmer, Mr. Ben Heikens, who is said to have started the commercial production of Irish potatoes in the county in 1924 and has since fostered it. Today Franklin County is by far the foremost county in the state in the production of this crop. In 1939 the farmers of Franklin County produced 255,157 bushels of Irish potatoes in a highly diversified program of commercial farming. Cumberland County, which produced 126,606 bushels, ranked next. During this same year the average number of bushels of Irish potatoes produced per county in Tennessee was only about 34,000.

On the trip through western Tennessee, I saw another outstanding agricultural section which had its genesis in the contribu-

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[1]See Walter M. Kollmorgen, *The German-Swiss in Franklin County, Tennessee: A Study of the Significance of Cultural Considerations in Farming Enterprises* (Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., 1940).

tions made by several immigrant farmers. This is the truck-crop-general-farming area in Gibson and surrounding counties. The immigrant farmers are referred to both as Dutchmen and as Yankees, and one source says that they came from Maryland.[2] These men were David Brandenburg and Ad. Horine, who came to Crockett County in 1862. An account of their early efforts says that "the first crop attempted on a big scale was grapes. It proved out that the Dutch boys' guess was right as to the possibilities of this fine fruit. Truly the soil and climate were perfect. Their vineyards flourished. The harvest was great. But there was no market."[3]

After about five years of effort in producing quantities of grapes which could not be marketed with profit, these so-called Dutchmen tried another hunch. They decided to grow strawberries on a commercial scale. This decision was most remarkable, for strawberries are one of the most perishable of all fruits, and in 1867, when this plan was conceived, refrigeration on railroad cars was unheard of. However, these men had heard that strawberries brought as much as $2 per quart on northern markets and so began the experiment. The account of this experiment adds:

> So, in 1867, the idea of Commercial Strawberry culture was born in West Tennessee. And the following spring, the first Strawberry plants ever to be set south of the Ohio River were placed in the soil near Humboldt. Thus did the Strawberry find its way into Dixie. And the humble little "strayberry" as the wild variety of the plant was called years ago, grew into a million dollar industry. Humboldt became the Strawberry capital of the nation. The fame of the Strawberry passed on into other Southern states until eventually many areas copied after the two Dutch boys who "came South," and who despite a civil war, the obstacles of nature, and man-made marketing and transportation facilities of the time, put into effect a change in the economical routine of the day that has existed throughout intervening time.[4]

The successful production of strawberries by the "Dutch" brothers near Humboldt marks the beginning of what has become one of the unique and outstanding agricultural sections of the state, namely, the West Tennessee truck-crop-general-farming area. Once the techniques of truck farming were understood, other vegetables were introduced in a diversified program of farming, such as tomatoes, cabbage, beans, sweet potatoes, watermelons, sweet corn, cucumbers, and bell peppers. In Gibson County alone these truck

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[2]R. W. Johnson, "Truck Farming in the Northern Part of the Cotton Belt—Gibson County, Tennessee," *Journal of the Tennessee Academy of Science,* Volume XVI (July, 1941), 279; see also A. H. Williams, "Origin of Strawberries in the South," Golden Anniversary Supplement to *The Courier-Chronicle,* Humboldt, Tennessee, May 21, 1942, p. 32.

[3]Williams, *op. cit.*

[4]*Ibid.*

crops cover about 10,000 acres. In addition about 45,000 acres are planted to cotton every year and nearly 70,000 acres to corn. Also, a good many acres are devoted to red and crimson clover, lespedeza, alfalfa, cow peas, soybeans, and pasture.

Later in this paper I shall return to this West Tennessee truck-crop-general-farming section to set forth what appear to be some significant factors in the dispersion of the new farming program from the two Dutchmen to the other farmers in the section. In this case dispersion was relatively rapid; with respect to other islands it was frequently delayed, and in some it could not be observed for many decades. Before exploring this situation I would like to list some of the other cultural-agricultural islands in the state with some brief observations.

Cultural-agricultural islands in Tennessee go back to frontier days. As early as about 1800 there came down the Shenandoah Valley a people known as the Pennsylvania Germans. In the Old World, these people had lived in the Rhineland valleys of Switzerland and Germany. From there they came to southeastern Pennsylvania, where they became known as Pennsylvania Germans or Pennsylvania Dutch. As early as the middle of the 18th century, some of them moved south and west from Pennsylvania, and islands of them were established as far south as east and central Tennessee. Many of them crossed the Blue Ridge Mountains and settled on the Piedmont of North Carolina. In Pennsylvania and elsewhere these people have been remarkably stable as farmers. Somehow they differed from many other frontiersmen as long as they maintained community integrity. By and large they were small farmers and stuck to diversified farming. Few of them became tenants, and slaveholding was uncommon among them.

The largest of these Pennsylvania German groups in Tennessee is found in an area lying about half in Greene County and half in Cocke County, but the northern and southern boundaries of the community do not reach as far north as Greeneville or as far south as Newport. In 1939, when I last made inquiry about this community from local county agents, bankers, and businessmen, I was told that there were then about 200 of these families in the community and that 95 per cent of them were owners, whereas in the two counties as a whole only about two thirds of the farmers were owners. Other statements made about them were about as follows:

1. Those people are the best eaters in this section and most of what they eat comes out of their farms.
2. They raise the best tobacco in these parts.
3. Few of them go into debt and you can depend on them to pay what they owe you on time.
4. Few if any of them are on relief.

The last statement I was able to check. At the time of my inquiry, one widow in the community was getting aid from outside the community.

I do not know why this cultural-agricultural island has persisted so long; nor do I presume to know all the elements or factors which give character to this or similar islands. We know that these people had a different Old World background from other ethnic groups in the area and for years they spoke a different language. Moreover, there was the difference of religion—these people being Lutherans—and it is not difficult to discover some dietary differences. But these are merely very simple and rather obvious characteristics growing out of that most complex of things called "culture patterns," about which we know all too little. They include such matters as speech and its peculiarities, work habits, food habits, moral values, conceptions of home life, recreation, and social life, and other patterns. I believe the group here tonight would find it profitable to encourage studies of cultural islands, and as project No. 1, I recommend the settlement just referred to.

The frontiers did not disappear as rapidly or as completely in Tennessee as in some middle western states. In fact, throughout the nineteenth century and even in the present century, farmers have occupied and developed frontier lands in this state. Geographic conditions account for this slow encroachment on new lands because areas with poor soils and unfavorable topographic conditions have retarded development for varying periods of time.

Even within the last decade efforts were made to persuade some citizens in northern states with a Polish background to join some of their former countrymen near Deerlodge on the Cumberland Plateau. Even the Cumberland Homesteads project may be considered an effort to develop a frontierlike area. I think that this conception of the frontier is important in that new settlements that have come to this state, even within rather recent years, had the opportunity of developing new lands and this did not involve the displacement of established farmers.

Next to the Pennsylvania German community referred to, the oldest cultural island in Tennessee with which I am familiar is that of the German settlement on the Cumberland Plateau at Wartburg, Tennessee. This community came into existence during the 1840's and 1850's. In the early days, the promoters of this community had a highly ambitious plan of development. Not only did they propose to settle large tracts of land, but they proposed also to make Wartburg a manufacturing and industrial center. The development of industry failed completely, and in the matter of agriculture the community was only partly successful because of the poor sandy

soils prevailing in that section. In the 40's and 50's of the last century, commercial fertilizers were still a laboratory curiosity and not a substance understood by farmers and tailor-made for various soils with given deficiencies. Methods of growing legumes and good grasses on the Plateau were also unknown.

Old World methods of farming were not successful in the Wartburg area and so numerous immigrant settlers moved elsewhere. A core of them, however, remained and are farming there today. They have retained a tradition of diversified farming and maintaining relatively good improvements. As a group they are spoken of as the better farmers in the area. While I do not know whether they were the first in that section to grow Irish potatoes commercially, they are known as good potato and truck-crop farmers. Moreover, their diversity in stock, crops, and vegetables gives them a more ample and varied diet than that of other families in the area.

The Wartburg community apparently was one of the first large-scale promotion schemes to bring immigrant farmers to the Cumberland Plateau. During the decades that followed (mainly during the 70's, 80's, and 90's), similar settlement experiments were repeated in numerous other places on the Plateau, not only in Tennessee, but also in adjacent states south and north. Results ranged from fair successes, like the German settlement in Cullman County, Alabama, to complete failure at Rugby, Tennessee. In the Tennessee section of the Plateau, settlements were started not only at Rugby but also at Gruetli and Allardt. These last two, unlike the Rugby experiment, cannot be called complete failures in spite of the fact that a considerable proportion of the settlers who came to Gruetli and Allardt did not stay. At Allardt, several descendants of the early German settlers do fairly well in the production of potatoes and in general farming. The German-Swiss remaining at Gruetli have demonstrated that by rather intensive methods of farming a fairly good standard of living is possible. They are spoken of as thrifty, are said to have a relatively high standard of living, and are commended for their diversified farming practices as well as their diligent and productive work habits. Few if any of them were on relief rolls whereas the incidence of relief on the Plateau in general was very high.[5]

The failure of the Rugby experiment has been described so well by your historian Mrs. Hamer that I need say little about

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[5]Charles E. Allred, *et al.*, *How the Swiss Farmers Operate on the Cumberland Plateau* (Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, April 1, 1937).

it.[6] Since cultural factors in agriculture are even now little understood or appreciated, we have little or no justification for ridiculing the dream of Thomas Hughes, who took such an active part in the Rugby experiment. The fact that Mr. Hughes and others did not realize is that by and large in this country the better farmers are farmers by tradition and folkways and were drawn from the rural and peasant classes of Europe. Certainly the sons of English aristocrats and bluebloods who were brought to Rugby lacked every qualification of training, work habits, and cultural values to convert a virgin forest area into a thriving agricultural community.

It is not the English *versus* the Germanic origin of the people that brought about the varying degrees of success and failure of these settlements on the Cumberland Plateau. In my opinion the critical differences are related to the rural *versus* the non-rural origin of the people. The German settlers were farmers by tradition and background; the English newcomers at Rugby were the sons of wealthy Englishmen who had little or no experience in farming abroad. Their background was in the professions, including government positions. The absence of professional opportunities abroad brought them to Rugby, the site of an idealistic experiment in farming which failed.

The Polish community near Deerlodge on the Cumberland Plateau is still a rather new settlement. To my knowledge, this settlement was begun during the first World War, and during more recent years some few additional families from the North came there. Several years ago the county agent reported that these people were the best farmers in the county (Morgan County) and that they were unusually successful in growing potatoes. Apparently they brought to that section of the Plateau some rather novel methods of farming, including the use of barnyard manure on land planted to potatoes and other crops. It is reported that some of the traditional farmers refused to eat corn and potatoes grown on land that had been fertilized with barnyard manure. Local tradition and folkways provided for the use of new land until it was exhausted and then returning it to shrubs and trees to be rested. The Polish families of course departed sharply from these local practices and introduced well-approved methods of fertilizing the land.

There were other small groups of immigrant settlers on the Plateau but the experiments were usually short-lived. In terms of efficient, low-cost production of food and feed crops for the market, it is doubtful that any of them can be considered very successful.

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[6]See Marguerite Bartlett Hamer, "Thomas Hughes and His American Rugby," *The North Carolina Historical Review,* Vol. V (October, 1928), 390-412.

While certain individual farmers have done fairly well, it appears that if they had applied their efforts and ability on better soils the returns would have been many times greater. Perhaps we have not reached the point in this country where it is necessary or advisable to use some of our poorer, less accessible lands for small-scale commercial farming, unless certain unusual conditions exist.

It should be noted that in the above discussion of settlements on the Cumberland Plateau I did not refer to the Cumberland soils as submarginal. Soils naturally vary in their capacity to produce certain crops, and on the Plateau the fault may well be man's in trying to introduce faulty programs of farming. Patch farming without supplementary income from industry obviously is unsatisfactory from the standpoint of maintaining a desirable standard of living. The small-scale intensive farming methods introduced by the immigrant farmers also leave much to be desired. In both cases the fault may lie with traditional or folkway concepts of farming. Perhaps we should encourage rather large-scale farming on the Plateau, including constructive forestry practices. In many places this would mean a reduction of the population living directly off the land. This, in turn, suggests greater industrialization on the Plateau and in adjacent sections.

A cursory examination of the settlement schemes sponsored on the Cumberland Plateau during the last century may well incline one to be critical of these programs. We should bear in mind, however, that when most of these sponsored settlement programs were undertaken, knowledge of soils and land use was extremely limited. Certainly we cannot impugn the honesty and good intentions of Thomas Hughes, even if some of us are inclined to question his good judgment with reference to the Rugby project. In this connection we may well remember and ponder the lesson we have learned from the Cumberland Homesteads project.

Apparently more settlement programs have been sponsored on the Cumberland Plateau than in the remaining part of Tennessee. Among the settlements not located on the Plateau are the one at Hohenwald and the archipelago of islands in Lawrence County and the adjoining county in Alabama. I know little about the settlement at Hohenwald except that some German-Swiss farmers settled there several decades ago in a forested area which is also an area of exceedingly poor soils. To my knowledge the settlement has been almost a complete failure. I hope, however, that this or some other historical society will encourage someone to make a thorough study of the Hohenwald settlement because society learns from its mistakes as well as from its successes.

In Lawrence County, Tennessee, and adjacent sections we

have not only one cultural-agricultural island but several. In fact, the once rather compact islands are dispersed today so that the whole county and adjacent sections have a sprinkling of farmers who are descendants of the immigrant Germans who came south in the 70's and 80's of the last century. According to C. C. Flanery, state commissioner of agriculture, between ten and twenty per cent of the citizens of Lawrence County today are descendants of the early German settlers. A substantial percentage of the remaining population descended from Alabamians who also migrated into this county during the closing decades of the last century.

A Catholic priest is largely responsible for the establishment of several German Catholic communities in Lawrence County. During the 70's of the last century, he purchased several large tracts of land in what was at that time known as the "Barrens" of Tennessee and Alabama. It is reported that he paid about $1 per acre for this land to the natives who were delighted to sell a gold brick to an unwary outsider. Today much of this land is valued at $100 per acre and more.

The German settlements on the Barrens were not an immediate success. The traditional farming practices of the settlers were unsuited to the poor land which is in large part underlain by an impervious layer of hardpan. For years they experienced serious hardships, and not a few of them returned to the northern states from which many of them had come. Fortunately, commercial fertilizers were coming into more general use in this period, and this fertilizer with barnyard manure played an important part in saving the settlement. Shortly after 1900 red clover was also grown successfully and with this legume they had another means of building up the soil.

While no careful study has been made of these settlements, reports on the contribution to local agriculture these people have made are quite consistent. These reports may be summarized as follows:

1. These immigrants knew nothing about growing cotton and adopted it only after other methods of farming had been tried and failed in part.
2. They learned how to raise cotton from Alabamians who migrated into the county.
3. From the first, the Germans had good gardens to provide vegetables for home consumption.
4. Most of them grew some berries and fruit for home consumption. After a time a number of them produced strawberries commercially.
5. Nearly all of them grew grapes to make wine for home consumption.
6. They introduced better barns and were the first, as a group, to paint their houses.
7. A good variety of stock was kept, in part to supply manure for the land.

8. In general, they gave their stock better care than other farmers in the area.
9. By the time of the first World War, a considerable number of them were raising alfalfa and crimson clover, both good soil builders. (At that time these were still uncommon crops in that section of Tennessee.)
10. They produced a considerable quantity of small grain, including wheat. (Because of the wheat produced locally, a German started a flour mill in Loretta, which is still operating.)
11. Few of them were or became tenants, and they are looked upon as good financial risks.
12. They have always been known to keep good farm machinery.
13. They were the first in Lawrence County to use lime on the soil.
14. They introduced sweetpotato-curing houses.
15. As a group they are known to keep their land in a high state of fertility.

I discussed these settlements with a man now in the Extension Service of the United States Department of Agriculture who spent ten years in Lawrence County as county agricultural agent. He expressed the opinion that an admixture of ethnic groups, like the population in Lawrence County, is definitely a great asset. Each group can and does make contributions to good agricultural practices. And here I should repeat that the Alabama immigrants made an important contribution by bringing cotton culture into the county. Without cotton during the early days, the Germans might well have lost out completely. The Alabamians, in turn, adopted much that was introduced by the Germans. At one time Lawrence County was classed with the poorest counties in the state; today it must be classed with the best. This change is largely the result of the contributions made by the various groups now composing the rural population.

The informant also felt that meetings of farmers in which both Germans and others participated were much more interesting and challenging than meetings in which all members were of local extraction. In some of these meetings there were members who had farmed in Germany, others who had farmed in several of the northern states, and still others who had farmed in Alabama and Tennessee. "In a meeting like this you don't run out of ideas, and before the evening is over everybody will have learned something."

The above covers the cultural-agricultural islands in Tennessee with which I am more or less familiar, and it remains to present some generalizations and observations on the contributions of these people to Tennessee agriculture. It also appears important to present some plausible hypothesis on the dispersion of agricultural innovations from the islands to the larger areas surrounding them.

Most of the cultural islands in Tennessee were established on the poor and poorest soils of the state. At the time these settlements were projected, the good lands were naturally all occupied. Large

settlement schemes were therefore directed at forested or cutover lands which did not interest better situated farmers in this state. The fact that some of these settlements failed and others met with only moderate success does not mean that the immigrants were poor farmers. Those who remained usually succeeded better than native farmers. The experiments at Gruetli, Allardt, and Wartburg show that on the Cumberland Plateau the intensive, small-scale general farming methods of the European peasants do not bring a high standard of living, and more extensive farming operations are indicated. But suppose that no settlements had been made at these places. In that case some individuals might still contend that the native farmer on the Plateau does not know how to farm and that a European peasant could do wonders up there with his painstaking methods. Now we know that neither has the answer to the proper farming methods in that section, and that a really successful method of land use on the Plateau still needs to be introduced.

Agricultural specialists are interested in learning more about the genesis of new types of agriculture and the dispersion of better forms of farming from core areas. Concerning these processes much can be learned from the numerous cultural islands in the South and other sections of this country. Unfortunately, however, good studies of these islands are still limited in number. While I have personally investigated several such islands in the South and prepared publications on them, I have been preoccupied with other research during the last two years. As a result I cannot report as many over-all findings on detailed work as I would like. However, I will make some brief factual comparisons between the truck-farming section in West Tennessee and the agricultural development of Franklin County which appear to account for the unlike rate of dispersion of new crop patterns. Additional research on these and other communities may well be undertaken and this work may corroborate or modify what appear at this time to be plausible assumptions and explanations.

As was pointed out above, the truck farming in West Tennessee dates back to the coming in the 1860's of two so-called Dutchmen who were apparently rather well Americanized and could speak English. Since these two men and their households did not constitute a community, they naturally were absorbed into the larger community of the natives. As a result they did not perpetuate a separate language, a separate church, and other folkways, as many larger immigrant communities did. In other words, they did not form a separate ingroup with special patterns of its own to perpetuate, but instead their ways of life were blended with that of the other people of the area. As a result channels for the transmission

of ideas from them to the natives existed almost immediately. Moreover, the channels ran both ways. Frequent association with the natives gave these immigrant farmers opportunity to learn immediately and directly what these local people knew about farming.

When the strawberry culture introduced by the two Dutchmen proved to be a great success and the berries commanded exceedingly high prices on the market in St. Louis and other more northern cities, the existing pattern of community association served to bring reports of these high prices to the native farmers immediately and by personal relationships the native farmers learned much about the techniques of growing strawberries. Others who planted the crop also experienced the thrill of getting high prices for the berries and adopted the crop permanently. Once the people were familiar with strawberry culture, the introduction of other truck crops adapted to local soil conditions was quite natural. Moreover, Gibson County has long faced the problem of small farms and so there has been a pressure to get the most out of the land. Truck crops in part supply the answer.

Now let us compare the above situation with that of the German-Swiss in Franklin County. When the German-Swiss came to Franklin County in the late 1860's, a considerable number of families with a common background arrived within a few years. Thus they were able to establish a largely self-sufficient community. These newcomers spoke their own language, organized their own church, and introduced the methods of farming with which they were familiar—all natural social and economic steps. Their home life and their social life were in many ways distinct from those of the people surrounding them. It follows that here we have all the elements of an ingroup largely separated from an outgroup. There were no free and easy channels of communication and association between the two. Each group lived largely to itself, and each considered the other peculiar.

Because of these conditions, the agricultural program which the German-Swiss developed was for decades peculiar to them. Only after many years was their program of diversified farming, stock raising, and dairying copied by outsiders. Moreover, this dispersion did not begin until the self-sufficiency of the community had broken down in part and a certain amount of association with outsiders had developed. As late as 1938, when I made a detailed study of this island, very sharp differences in the prevailing farming programs existed as between the German-Swiss and the farmers in the surrounding minor civil divisions.

The unlike rates of dispersion of agricultural programs are of great interest to the student of agriculture. From thorough studies

of other islands many important facts could be learned that would be helpful to those who propose to inaugurate certain changes in agriculture. The fact that I wish to emphasize is that agriculture is definitely tied in with culture and has a basis in tradition and folkways. You cannot change farming practices in any community without changing the thinking and the patterns of life of the people. Not until this fact is generally understood will we be in a position to come to grips with the agricultural problems that face us in many parts of this country.

Immigrant farmers have played an unlike part in the development of agriculture in the North and in the South. As is well known, great waves of immigrant farmers came to the North but not to the South, and this difference has had an important bearing on the agriculture which was subsequently developed. To understand the influence of these immigrants we should briefly compare or contrast the Old World agriculture with that taking place on the American frontier.

As you well realize, farming in Europe had to become as constructive as possible centuries ago because of the long history of land use. Skinning the land generation after generation was impossible. As a result these people made good use of all available manures and used other methods of maintaining fertility, such as fallowing, diversification, and rotation. In other words, they acquired a tradition of constructive farming.

On the American frontier, a different practice developed. Frontiersmen were usually land skinners. Instead of maintaining soil fertility they depleted it rapidly and then sought new virgin fields. In the North, the frontiersmen were generally pushed farther and farther west to new lands. The partly developed farms they sold, which were more or less depleted of fertility, were largely taken over by immigrants who were conditioned to more constructive farming practices. As a result, somewhat more constructive farmers finally prevailed.[7]

The sequence of land occupancy in the North contrasts with what took place in the South. As you know, no waves of farmer immigrants came to the South to take over partly depleted or exhausted lands. The frontier-conditioned farmers and their descendants continued to predominate in both the older South of the

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[7]It should also be pointed out here that in general the soil fertility in the northern states, particularly in the Middle West, was much greater than it was in most parts of the South and so land was not worn out so quickly. Climatic conditions in the South are conducive to the leaching of soil and also to the destruction of organic material. As a result the pioneer in the South usually did not have as fertile soil to begin with as the pioneer in the North.

seaboard states and also on the more recent frontier lands farther inland and westward. The problem of declining fertility was met by two important expedients, namely, (1) returning land to brush and trees and (2) using commercial fertilizer. Neither method fully solved the problem of permanent agriculture, and it is only in very recent years that progress has been made in adopting a widespread program of constructive agriculture, including the use of cover crops, legumes, good pastures, and more emphasis on stock culture. It seems reasonable to assume that if the South had received a more substantial number of immigrant peasants from abroad, the change toward a more diversified and constructive farming program would have been accelerated. This conclusion is strongly indicated by the agricultural development of the North and by the significant agricultural contributions of cultural islands in the South.

I hope that this is not the last paper read before your society on the subject of cultural islands in Tennessee and the South. While I have investigated some of these islands in some detail, others have never been studied carefully. There is much to be learned from the adjustments these various ethnic groups made to their new environment, and they undoubtedly made agricultural contributions not mentioned in this paper. It is clear that in some instances they were largely responsible for the development of distinct agricultural type areas and that in other places they materially raised the standard of farming by introducing new techniques, crops, and stock. In some instances the more widespread adoption of crops first grown by these people in Tennessee, such as crimson clover, still awaits the day of more diversified farming in this state and the Cotton Belt generally. Wherever these people and their descendants have remained in rural areas they are considered model farmers, and not problem farmers. I have yet to find a county agricultural agent who does not express a desire for a greater number of them. A number of settlements were not particularly successful in introducing commercial agriculture on small farms with very poor soils, but their experiences have become history from which we can learn lessons for future guidance. The extent to which we profit from these lessons will be determined in no small measure by the integrity and activities of organizations like this historical society. History is to society what memory is to the individual. Neither can explore the future without exploring the past.

PAPERS FROM THE SPANISH ARCHIVES RELATING TO TENNESSEE AND THE OLD SOUTHWEST, 1783-1800

Translated and Edited by

D. C. Corbitt and Roberta Corbitt*

(Continued from the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15)

VIII—1786-1787, Additions**

[TRANSLATION]
GARDOQUI TO FLORIDABLANCA, NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 18, 1786[1]

Confidential No. 12 Most Excellent Sir

My dear sir: Among my various tasks and anxieties I have lamented for some time the lack of safe and direct means of communicating to Your Excellency without delay the events affecting our affairs, and I have found it necessary to risk in cipher what I had the honor to write to Your Excellency on the 6th of last month by way of Boston and on the 20th by the French packet,[2] a duplicate of which I enclose in this letter.

I was of the same mind when there came to my hands a letter from a Merchant of Bilbao[3] who is in Boston, advising me that he is about to sail for Bayonne, France and from there to his home. This opportunity to send a letter by a person I know inspires me to take advantage of it, using all possible precautions for the security of this letter, which I shall send as far as Boston by one of the Employees[4] of this secretariat, charging him not to deliver it to the person in question until he is on the point of sailing for

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*For the editors' introduction see the beginning of the first installment of these "Papers" in the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 9 (1937), 111-12. With few exceptions the letters printed are from transcripts and photostats of papers selected by A. P. Whitaker from the Papeles de Cuba in the Archivo General de Indias (hereafter cited as A. G. I., P. C.), Seville, Spain, for the McClung Collection in the Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee.

**Since the publication of preceding installments, which have included papers down to September, 1788, some transcripts and photostats of additional letters of earlier dates have come to light. Those for the years 1786 and 1787 are now being published as installment VIII, and the remainder will be included in installment IX in *Publications*, No. 17.

[1]Archivo Histórico Nacional, Sección de Estado (hereinafter cited as A. H. N., E), legajo 3893. A note at the beginning of the letter says in Spanish: "For the Council of State, Wednesday, November 29, come before 10. read to the king in the Council of State."

[2]A copy of Gardoqui's letter of August 6, 1786 is in the Durrett Collection of the University of Chicago Library. S. F. Bemis, *Pinckney's Treaty* (Baltimore, 1926), 104, note 3. The letter is concerned with reports about the disputes between northern and southern delegates in Congress over the cession of the right to navigate the Mississippi. A transcript of the letter of August 20, 1786 is in the collection of the North Carolina Historical Commission.

[3]Gardoqui was a member of a Bilbao firm which had traded with the English colonies and with the United States. A. P. Whitaker, *The Spanish-American Frontier, 1783-1795* (Boston, 1927), 73; Bemis, *op. cit.*, 71-73.

[4]Gardoqui's assistants were Josef de Viar and Josef de Jáudanes.

Europe, and with it a letter charging him not to let it out of his possession under any circumstances until by his own hands he places it in those of the postmaster in the first town or port of Spain, since the letter concerns the King's service.

Since time is so short, Your Excellency will please pardon any faults you may find, and with this hope I shall proceed to inform you that it is difficult to imagine the degree to which the dispute in Congress has reached over the navigation of the Mississippi, for after its advantages and disadvantages had been debated for weeks, line by line, by two parties, the following proposition was adopted:

Should Congress revoke the clause "of the instructions given to its representative Mr. Jay which commands him to preserve the navigation of the Mississippi."

Seven States voted for revoking it and five against.

When the minority party saw this turn of events it introduced a motion to the effect that Seven did not have sufficient power to do this, because the Articles of Confederation state that nine states are necessary for such a decision.

The discussion was prolonged, because it was necessary to cite precedents and to consider and debate anew, but after several days the same majority decided that Congress did have sufficient power and the President promulgated the decision.

In view of this proposal the opposing party suggested the appointment to the Court of Spain of a Minister Plenipotentiary who should carry certain powers or instructions to try to preserve the navigation of the Mississippi, or at least to gain time until a better opportunity presented itself.

The debates were renewed, because the majority considered this improper or perhaps offensive to the King. There were some also who insisted on a declaration as to whether there was anyone in the country who had the least complaint against me. It seems that all of them unanimously did me a thousand honors, condescending to declare openly that it was because they knew my tenacity on this point that they rejected this clause.

The opposition continued to threaten because of the delicacy of the matter and its results, and proposed that Mr. Jay be given two associates because it was judged that, although he was one of the leading men of the country, the matter was of the utmost importance.

After many extrajudicial conversations and the appointment of two influential persons outside of Congress, the proposing party changed its mind; not for this reason, however, did it relax its efforts, but rather became more inflamed, and during the last few days there were some personal remarks which might have ended in duels if the prudence of some had not quieted the matter, and finally on the first of this month the question was carried by a seven States' majority. But this has not dismayed the opposition because at the next Session a proposal was introduced that, in view of the terrible consequences that are possible, the matter be reconsidered. The majority wished to concede this, but since some of the members were anxious to leave on a mission of Congress itself, it was suggested that this matter be dropped until they returned and that in the meantime all the papers concerning it be entrusted to the care of the President.

This was agreed to, and that is the state of this much-talked-of affair about which I have had to prepare a multitude of papers and carry on many

conversations in order to get on with both parties and to support the majority, among whom there were several who were prejudiced by so much discussion, and who wanted to retire to their homes, so that the opposition, which saw through it all, has done all it could to delay them, and I have done all I could to animate and retain those who were inconvenienced by their absence from home.

The delegates from four States have already gone, and I hope they will keep their word and return shortly so that we may get out of this maze.

From what has been explained Your Excellency will note that Mr. Jay's plan did not have a chance, as I advised you in my letter number 10, because the appointed committee of three did not dare to report on account of the secrecy demanded by the affair.

The tenacity with which the opposing party defends the navigation of the Mississippi looks like determination and the carefulness with which the other works gives the appearance of weakness, but believe you me Your Excellency there are several circumstances which make the problem difficult and delicate.

The private interest of those who defend this navigation and the interests of all the wealthy men of these States have great influence.

The idea that is prevalent among their constituents who have become enthusiastic about the advantages that they enjoy on the Western Waters instills fear in the members of Congress, for Your Excellency well knows how much influence the people have in governments of this kind.

But in addition to these and other circumstances that I omit, they are driven into a panic by the idea that if they abandon that right which they claim all the new States will secede from the Confederation and give themselves up to an alliance with England.

This, Your Excellency, is the hobgoblin that they fear and, in faith, if anything can be inferred from what I see, they do not lack grounds for their fears.

So that you can be better able to appreciate these fears I enclose a *word for word* copy of a certain very secret conversation that I had some days ago. This person[5] is well versed in literature, educated in one of the first Universities of Europe, bred in Foreign Courts, and judicious as well as prudent.

From its contents and from the enclosed excerpt of a letter from General Washington,[6] Your Excellency can draw your own conclusions with your customary exactness.

The English Consul, who has followed this matter carefully since he began to get wind of it, and who laughed heartily at the thought of its obtaining a majority, was so much surprised that he hurriedly dispatched a mail boat as soon as he learned about it.

Your Excellency will be able to judge whether he is concerned with the new Settlements or with what is happening there [in Spain], but this very doubt causes me to use this opportunity to communicate it to you.

Although the step that I have advanced far exceeds what I had hoped for, I am not flattering myself that I have achieved the success which I de-

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[5]Colonel or Doctor James White. A translation of the conversation is printed below.

[6]From a letter from Washington to Henry Lee in which the former stated that much management would be necessary to restrain the restless spirits of Kentucky. Bemis, *op. cit.*, 104. The letter, dated June 18, 1786, is printed in Jared Sparks, *Writings of George Washington* (12 vols., Boston, 1837), IX, 172-81.

sire, because even supposing that Congress voted as we wish, there remains the doubt as to whether Mr. Jay will feel sufficiently secure in authorizing the continuance of the negotiation.

From what has occurred in Congress he has the opinion of the people, the strength of the opposition, and the indications that not everybody supports him.

These circumstances will have made a great impression on an able man, who is somewhat cautious in his deliberations, and whose fortunes depend on the public, on whose opinion he bases his general policy, and I fear that I shall find him intractable. But what I fear more is that, even if the Minister dares to continue negotiations and agrees to give up the Navigation of the Mississippi for the time specified in the Treaty (which is as long as it can be extended) there is still the problem of ratification, because the opposition will do all it can to see that the delegates to the next Congress are those of the greatest influence, and will work by underhand methods to win other States, while I alone, a foreigner, am the only one to combat this group of powerful persons from the country itself, and that without the necessary knowledge, and hundreds of miles removed from where the Elections are to be held.

Your Excellency will see whether this is too much for a novice in a new and difficult career, but I trust as ever in my intentions, and promise Your Excellency to do all in my power with diligence and determination, giving my attention at present to whether or not they procure a good President for the coming year.

In the midst of these anxieties it would be the greatest consolation to receive Your Excellency's orders, but unfortunately I have not had that satisfaction.

The wretched state of Commerce and navigation here, and the inability of these people to pay their debts and to pay taxes, are producing discord which thinking people fear.

For some time Georgia has been torn among factions who have even suspended the legislature, and the disturbance continues.

In Rhode Island the Shops are closed, nobody wanting to sell for paper money, which they know will be the ruination of the State, and evil results are feared.

Worcester, Bristol, and Middlesex Counties have dared to dismiss their Magistrates by force and it is said that there have been some casualties.[7] What is certain is that the Governor of Boston [*sic*] issued a proclamation against the aggressors, ordering them arrested and tried, but up to now it is not known whether the matter has been settled, and it is feared that it will grow out of bounds because there is no power to suppress it; so that, Your Excellency, I doubt if there has been an event in any country which promised greater good than the revolution in this one, and which has produced less. The able men recognize this, and although they say nothing, their very silence declares their thoughts. For this reason I believe they will make an effort to open negotiations with their mother country.

The bearer of this letter will go charged to send Your Excellency the Boston Gazettes if by his arrival there anything has occurred along the line of what I mentioned.

The speedy return of the Vessels from St. Augustine, Florida, where my

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[7]Shay's Rebellion.

reports were received and communicated to the Conde de Gálvez,[8] inspired me to detain the mail packet *Infante* with the hope of communicating something substantial, but since there is so much to write, and the vessel is about to sail for Vera Cruz I cannot do it now.

My news from the frontier comes down to the 20th of last month until which date there was nothing new to report except that the Indians had suspended their forays, and our Mestizo had gone to have a talk with our Commandants.

The Governor of St. Augustine is provided for, and not uneasy, and is content with the aid I sent him. He requests its continuance and I have given the necessary orders.

There remains only time to renew my respects to Your Excellency and to ask God to preserve you the many years that I desire.

New York, September 18, 1786 . . . .

Diego de Gardoqui

Congress is keeping our affairs a mysterious secret so that very few people suspect anything, and I dare say that the person is rare who knows what I have explained.

At the time I was copying the excerpt from General Washington's letter it occurred to me that it might be well for you to know what I wrote Confidentially to General Gálvez, and although you will know by the familiar style of the letter that I did not think when I wrote it of sending it to you, nevertheless I enclose it, begging the pardon of Your Excellency in whose favor I trust so much that I feel no hesitation in confessing freely to one whom I admire so devoutly. At this moment a letter full of thanks for the Vicuña[9] has arrived from General Washington. I think he is now ripe for my purpose and I expect to make him more so, and to see if I can obtain his influence for what remains to be done. If I could see him as I am urged to do, perhaps I could convince him, but I cannot leave this place.

His Excellency the Conde de Floridablanca etc.

[TRANSLATION]

SUMMARY OF A CONVERSATION BETWEEN JAMES WHITE AND GARDOQUI, AUGUST 26, 1786

(Enclosure)[10]

Summary of a certain conversation with Mr. [James White][11] a Member of Congress from the State of [North Carolina] with Diego Gardoqui in this house[12] on August 26, 1786 under greatest secrecy.

I am (said [Mr. White]) the Owner of large tracts of land on the banks of the [Cumberland] River where I hope to retire shortly with all I possess.

I realize that you are going to win what the United States never expected to cede to Spain, which is the Navigation of the Mississippi.

You have won the majority of Congress against the severe opposition of the Southern States which will never agree to cede the navigation.

I as a delegate of one of them have opposed and shall oppose it because I must not fail my constituents, but since my sitting in Congress is transitory

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[8]Gálvez was then viceroy of New Spain.

[9]Gardoqui distributed a number of gifts and "loans" to influential men. He got the King of Spain to present Washington with a Spanish jackass. Bemis, *op cit.*, 109.

[10]A. H. N., E., 3893.

[11]See Gardoqui to Floridablanca, Confidential No. 13, below.

[12]Evidently Gardoqui's residence, the Kennedy House at No. 1 Broadway.

and I know the results that this will produce, I come to get better acquainted with you as a man of honor, and to consult with you and to inform you of certain circumstances.

If Congress desires to cause the separation of our new Settlements in that Country, it could not find better means than the cession in question.

I know the people that make up those settlements. They are strong, accustomed to work, and venturesome, and I am persuaded that, as soon as they learn of the Cession, they will consider themselves abandoned by the Confederation and will act independently.

This situation offers Spain the most favorable opportunity to win them forever.

I am not ignorant of the many conversations in which you have manifested with great prudence that the King your master does not want any Vassals or lands which do not legitimately belong to him.

It is not my intention to penetrate nor fathom such judicious conduct, but to inform you that with the small sacrifice of some inducements to those new settlers, to go down to New Orleans to sell the surplus of their crops, and to supply themselves there with the articles they need, His Catholic Majesty will acquire their eternal goodwill and they, as an Independent State, will draw closer to His Majesty, guaranteeing whatever is desired, and will serve as a barrier under the most solemn pacts that His Majesty may propose.

I conclude for the present by saying that this Fall I shall go to those very Settlements to arrange my affairs, and to prepare to retire to them forever. I shall sound out the minds of the leaders whom I know well and we must agree as to the manner of my communicating to you exactly what is happening and what they think, and on my return, which will be about February, I shall report to you verbally with more freedom because I shall have completed my term in Congress and shall consider myself outside of the States. I only want you to remember that I have been the first perhaps, who has given you this information and to beg that when the time comes to make an agreement with your Court it may be through me.

No one can doubt that those Settlements will some time be very important to Spain, nor that their enmity could result in great injury to her.

I hope that you will consider the seriousness of this truth, because it is impossible that in Europe an idea could be formed about their value or how their population increases annually.

I am not ignorant of the fact that you have had the opportunity to investigate, to examine, and to treat with several of the leaders of that country, but since they never believed that the navigation of the Mississippi would be ceded they would hesitate to discuss frankly with you as I do.

Finally, you will please think the matter over and, for the present, I only desire that you do me the justice of believing that I am incapable of deceiving you or of risking my reputation.

This is a literal copy of what I said, to which Gardoqui replied with very polite words without committing himself.

The name and circumstances of this person will be sent on another occasion.

New York, September 18, 1786.

D. G. (rubric)

[TRANSLATION]
GARDOQUI TO FLORIDABLANCA, NEW YORK, OCTOBER 28, 1786[13]

Confidential No. 13 Most Excellent Sir

My dear sir: In my last five confidential letters of August 6 and 20, September 18, and the first and 15th[14] of the current month, I have had the honor to inform Your Excellency briefly of what has happened in Congress with respect to the Navigation of the Mississippi,[15] omitting a great number of difficulties that I have encountered, in order not to be too diffuse, and since to mention them now might border on conceit, I shall limit myself to informing Your Excellency that it is generally understood among the prudent and leading persons that 18 months ago nobody would have dared to propose in Congress giving up the Navigation of the Mississippi, nor did I (I confess to Your Excellency with frankness and honesty) have any hope whatever of achieving what has been accomplished, but we have had for a while a group of able, tractable, and respectable persons from the Northern States, who have been very noble, and to them I have been able to explain the importance and generosity of His Majesty, and it is to them that we are indebted for the working of this miracle.

I explained to Your Excellency, nevertheless, that I feared I should find Mr. Jay intractable. Any proper explanation of his deliberateness would be impossible for he is now bordering on the insupportable; nevertheless, armed with patience, I renewed the conferences last Monday. The first lasted for hours without our being able to agree on anything, because he so definitely would not even let me hint that they did not have the right to navigate the Mississippi, and since I insisted on it, he interrupted by declaring conclusively, that in such a case he could not continue, and that it would be necessary to terminate the conference.

With equal tenacity I opposed the substitute phrases that he proposed, to the effect that *they would abstain from navigating, and that they would suppress the navigation for the present.*

We parted in this manner until the following day when I made it my policy to examine his intentions by appearing somewhat more serious, complaining of the lack of generosity with which he treated us after a year and a half of delay, and I referred casually to the question of the Boundaries. He debated with the brilliance of which he is capable, excusing his Constituents on the grounds that the very nature of the Government made it susceptible to delay, and on the question of the Boundaries he assured me that nothing caused greater surprise in Congress, than the support (he told me) they had received from France through her Ambassador and the Marquis de Lafayette.[16] With this in mind he reiterated what he has told me many times this season, that if the suggestion is made to Congress that it accept any other demarcation line than that made with England, it would be superfluous to try to persuade it to surrender the navigation of the River. He had not yet finished when I took his meaning for granted and replied to him by

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[13]A. H. N., E., 3893.

[14]The letters of August 20 (together with a draft of a reply dated October 9, 1786), September 18, and October 1, 1786 are in *ibid.*, 3893. Photostats are found in the collection of the N. C. Historical Commission.

[15]Bemis, *op cit.*, 91-123; Whitaker, *op cit.*, 74-77.

[16]Since 1783 Lafayette had used his influence to get Floridablanca to agree to the American claims. Whitaker, *op cit.*, 147; Bemis, *op cit.*, 80, note 15.

calling to his attention our right to that country. I used all the courage I had to present the reasons given in His Majesty's instructions,[17] and in the notes of the Conde de Gálvez,[18] adding to them all the others that might assist our cause, but he resisted most tenaciously, basing his arguments on the colonial charters of England that always prescribed boundaries running from the Atlantic coast to the Mississippi, as is shown by all modern maps. His answer to my argument that a large part of those districts had depended on the Government of Pensacola, was that this was for mere convenience because of its location, but that this did not and could not extend its [West Florida's] boundaries beyond what was comprehended in Florida itself. Lastly, he concluded by saying that to send a picket of men into territory where there is scarcely an enemy does not signify conquest[19] and especially in territory which in all justice belongs to them, and since His Majesty insists on retaining it, then the States cannot conclude a Treaty.

With this we became rather heated because the arguments of both were strong, and after hours we separated as far from agreement as we were in the beginning.

Since the vessel that is to carry this communication is ready to sail, there is no time for more conference; nevertheless, I am trying to secure another for it seems most important to me to advise Your Excellency quickly on the last terms that we may secure, because if they should meet His Majesty's approval it will be necessary to utilize the opportunity presented by the next Congress at which there will still be present four of my principal Supporters, to whose talents and other circumstances we owe what we have gained up to now. Your Excellency has seen that for several reasons the respective States do not succeed in getting together a sufficient number of delegates to that body except during a very short period each year and then it is accidental, but generally this happens in the spring or at the beginning of summer.

It is an express provision of the Articles of Confederation (which allows not the slightest variation) that no Treaty can be ratified without the approval of nine States, so that if His Majesty approves the results of this conference which I await I shall be expecting the Royal orders so that I can take advantage of the first favorable turn of affairs that occurs in Congress.

Believe me, Your Excellency, all this is necessary to obtain the surrender of the coveted navigation, because the opposing States are prepared to act with the greatest vigor to regain the ground we have won.

On the fourth of this month there came to take leave of me Mr. James White, a Member of Congress from North Carolina. This is the person whose secret conversation I sent Your Excellency (a copy of which accompanies this) about the consequences of ceding the navigation in question, and repeating what he had said to me on August 26, adding "that since then he had learned definitely that the fears of the States had increased greatly. That in a letter of 6 pages he had shown the Governor of Virginia

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[17]The instruction is in A. H. N., E., 3885. It is printed in M. Conrotte, *La intervención de España en la independencia de los Estados Unidos*, 270-76. The Spanish claims are outlined in Miró to Gálvez, March 12, 1784, printed in the first installment of these "Papers," *Publications*, No. 9, 115-16.

[18]Instructions delivered to Gardoqui by Gálvez, Havana, April 28, 1785 (Transcript in the Durrett Collection). See Bemis, *op cit.*, 76-78, for a summary.

[19]After Spain entered the American Revolution the commandant of Arkansas Post crossed the Mississippi and set up the Spanish flag. Miró to Gálvez, March 12, 1784, cited in note 17.

by well-founded details that the new settlements are very much inclined to separate from the United States upon the least apparent pretext and the matter of the surrender of the navigation of the Mississippi was so important that it would cause them to give themselves up to, or at least ally themselves with, the English or the Spaniards, and that in such case the States would be surrounded by enemies. That on the basis of this certain knowledge it was absolutely necessary to avoid even the shadow of an excuse, because a contrary action would cause the loss of a Bulwark the power and strength of which the world in general has no conception, and that whichever of the two Nations joined them would find in a few years how dangerous they were to their neighbors and how useful to the King."

The said White has already gone after having first Confirmed his promises to me to sound out and examine the intentions of the Settlers, and to make use of relatives and friends in the Carolinas and Philadelphia to get his letters safely delivered.

He added that he would get as far as the Cumberland River (on which are located his plantations) by Christmas, and that the town where he is going is called Nashville. That perhaps he would try to go down the Mississippi to our plantations, for which reason I gave him some four letters for the Officer of the Irish Infantry Regiment, Don Enrique White, who is a judicious man and a good servant of the King, with whom as a fellow countryman (for they are both Irishmen) he may confer. My letter of recommendation states only *that if for any reason that person should arrive there he should be treated as one of my friends, and as a person of honor and esteem, and that he should be granted every assistance.*

I have also had from the country of Kentucky confidential communications which assure me that its inhabitants have become very much exasperated by the first reports that Congress is discussing the surrender of the navigation of the River for 25 years, and they have openly asserted that if this is done they will seek aid from another Power as an Independent State.

Since writing the above I have been closeted for several hours with Mr. Jay in this house. It would tire Your Excellency if I should describe all the drafts of chapters over which we have struggled. I had prepared him ahead of time through my able confidants in Congress, and I finally spoke intimately with him, evading our differences by the best means possible.

I believe I do not hazard anything in assuring Your Excellency without the least vanity that it seems to me that I have wrung from him all that he will give of his own accord in connection with the matter in question, but I cannot flatter myself that his decision will be ratified by the nine States that are necessary. Lastly, I had him give me this in writing over his signature a literal copy of which I enclose, along with a translation of it, but I beg Your Excellency to have the latter examined to see if I have given the exact meaning of the original. In order to limit its extent to this one topic he desired and insisted that nothing be said about a new Boundary line, because in that case he could do nothing. It cost me great trouble to get him in the mood to listen to me, and I was obliged to tell him that perhaps the King would be generous enough to grant them to the mouth of the Yazoo River, which is at the 32nd parallel, and from there straight east to the Appalachicola River and down it to where it unites with the Flint,[20] following from there the boundary of East Florida, as drawn by the English.

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[20]This was the maximum concession authorized by the instructions from Gálvez.

He was very much annoyed and he assured me privately that Congress would not agree to an inch beyond what was properly and legitimately the two Floridas, and that all the documents he had seen, without exception, placed the line at the 31st parallel. Finally, he asked me if I wished to refer the demarcation of the boundaries of the two Floridas to Commissions appointed by both parties, and having replied that I should have to have time to think over the matter, I further inquired of him if Congress had given him power to do this, to which he replied in the negative, but promised that he would agree on his part, and that perhaps Congress would sustain him, with which I told him that we would talk about this some other time.

I believe I have explained to Your Excellency all that we discussed. You will note that the part which necessity obliged me to concede concerning the 32nd parallel, instead of the circular line suggested in the note of the Conde de Gálvez,[21] is the only departure from my instructions, but I had to do this in order to obtain his final decision on the chapter on navigation. I was prompted to do this because our conversation was not making any headway, and because I find no document which shows that the Indian nations in that small territory are under the protection of His Majesty, but on the contrary, in one of the replies of the Governor of East Florida, he tells me that only the Seminoles and Creeks are considered to be under the Royal protection, *but that he does not know that any other Nations are.* I should also add that I am firmly persuaded that Congress will not agree to that boundary, for which reason I see no alternative but to leave it to the decision of Commissions. The circular line would offer endless disputes because it would be necessary to split the Indian nations, and the Indians would resist this, and, besides that, it would be almost impossible to locate the boundary since there is no river or mountain chain to follow.[22]

I believe, Your Excellency, that nothing remains for me to do but to await the orders of His Majesty and to beg you to permit me to request that they be given as quickly as possible, because if it is the Royal pleasure that I make the Treaty on the terms expressed it is necessary not to waste next spring, as I have not the least hope of obtaining this after the expiration next summer of the terms of the able men who now favor us.

If the treaty is concluded depriving them of the navigation of the Mississippi, enthusiasm for emigrating to those countries will lessen. We shall hinder their development, but perhaps later we shall be able to overcome the other obstacles more readily because some of the principal persons have already lost the enthusiasm which made them so obstinate.

I am at present winning the favor of the New Congress. There has arrived a Mr. Nash[23] who is the new member from North Carolina, a person who is said to be able and respectable and who it is believed will next occupy the Presidency.

We have exchanged visits and I believe we are becoming friends because, since we both have delicate health, we are satisfied with a quiet life.

I am not neglecting the Northern States, and I renew my promise to

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[21]Gálvez suggested a line which would follow the Ohio to the Tennessee River, and up that river to the French Broad, from which it was to drop down to the Flint and follow it to the junction with the Appalachicola. As an alternative he suggested a line straight east from Chickasaw Bluffs to the Tennessee River.

[22]This would have been true of only that part of the line between the Tennessee and the Flint.

[23]Abner Nash, who had been governor of North Carolina during the Revolution.

Your Excellency to do everything I can, and reiterate the truth that if we are to live tranquilly in this part of the world, and are to prepare to supply our Islands in case of a war, and to avoid making terrible enemies of these people, we must not misuse next spring, because in addition to what I have stated I have acquired secret information that the urgent business that has occupied Mr. Jay has been certain reports and a plan to settle the differences with England, which plan seems to be developing, and there is ground for hope of making a satisfactory Treaty.

It is only natural that Your Excellency should know by reputation General Steuben, a Prussian officer who, in the American Revolution, has distinguished himself so that many persons consider him equal in merit to Washington, because it was he that formed the Army from the first soldier, and has published several regulations and treatises on military affairs that do him honor. This Officer, who is some 60 years of age, but robust, is said to have been reared with the King of Prussia and was one of his Generals, but resigned and came here at the request of France.

He resigned at the conclusion of the war, as did General Washington and the rest, and the States have given him several land grants, which to him, being alone and a foreigner, are useless, and he talks of retiring to Europe.

He visits me frequently, and on the last occasion he surprised me by confiding under bond of secrecy, that some years ago he began to observe His Majesty's excellent provision for internal affairs, what it promises in a Monarchy of such resources, and what in his opinion might improve various branches of the government which he has studied, especially the Army, and finally he approached me with the request that I ascertain whether Your Excellency would object if he paid you a visit. I confess that this request took me by surprise, but it occurred to me immediately that a misunderstanding now might turn him into a formidable enemy, and that it would be well to get him out of the country, so I replied that I should take the liberty of suggesting it to Your Excellency.

I shall be very sorry if Your Excellency does not approve my reply, but I made it with the best intentions and I hope that, if Your Excellency is not pleased, a subterfuge can be found for evading his request. Everyone considers him very capable, especially in his field of Military economy, but I believe that what he wants to talk about is not limited to this, although he has not communicated his designs to me, nor do his lands join those of His Majesty, therefore I beg Your Excellency to send me the orders you think proper.

Messengers have already arrived for the letter, and it occurs to me to add only that Mr. Jay has told me in a friendly way that since he has no hopes that Congress will ratify the Treaty on the terms which he has agreed to accept about the closing of the River to Navigation, he suggests privately that I do not sign anything until he presents what we agreed upon and is empowered by nine States to sign it, because he does not want to be exposed to the possibility of a rebuff by its being rejected, or by the failure to secure the necessary number of states.

I approve of the idea because, besides relieving me of the difficulties that may arise, it will give me time to receive the King's orders, for I hope in this interval to find a way out of the present dilemma through the instructions that you may be pleased to give me in reply to my communications since the first of February in which I had the honor to enclose a brief

resumé of the principles that should guide us, if they merit the approval of His Majesty: In any case I should insist on his approval, because my knowledge is so limited that I would not dare to sign anything of such consequence without receiving the King's orders, which I shall await in any event before making a treaty. . . .

New York, October 28, 1786. . . .

Gardoqui

I omitted to say that Mr. James White is a Catholic but he has never used the fact to serve his ends, nor for anything else.

His Excellency the Conde de Floridablanca.

Enclosure in letter No. 13

To Confidential letter No. 13.

A literal copy of the draft written by Mr. Jay about the navigation of the Mississippi, the original of which is in my possession.

A translation of the chapter on the reverse side according to its literal content without alteration:

And in order that this Treaty may more effectively provide for the continuation of that perfect harmony which at present happily exists between His Catholic Majesty and the United States; and in order that all the differences and questions that may arise about the navigation of the Mississippi may be avoided and removed with a friendly stipulation on that subject, Since *the System* of Government and the Policy of His Catholic Majesty prohibits all Foreign trade, Communication, and Commerce within his Territories, and since the United States desires to conform themselves as far as possible to the wishes of His Majesty and to show their appreciation of his friendly disposition toward them, and of the recent proofs of it that have been given them; therefore it is expressly stipulated and agreed that His Catholic Majesty and the United States shall use freely and in common with Spain, and without interruption on the part of the one or the other the navigation of the said River from its source to the Southern boundary of the aforesaid United States who will faithfully observe that boundary, and shall not navigate or use said River below that Boundary in any part of its course between His Majesty's possessions to the River's Mouth.

Gardoqui

[TRANSLATION]

GARDOQUI TO FLORIDABLANCA, NEW YORK, DEC. 6, 1787[24]

Confidential No. 18. Most Excellent Sir

My dear sir. Being informed by the bearers of my communications of May and July, in which I sent Your Excellency my last confidential letters numbers 16 and 17,[25] that they had reached you. I refrain from tiring you with duplicates, and I take this opportunity which seems safe, to express my sincere hope that the delay which I experience in receiving Your Excellency's orders is not due to ill health.

Since that time I have communicated to Your Excellency in detail as much as opportunity has permitted and in particular the progress and results of the Philadelphia Convention and my journey to see General Washington.

My reception was cordial and I was given all the attention that was my desire.

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[24]A. H. N., E., 3893.

[25]Transcripts of these letters, along with numbers 14 and 17, are in the Durrett Collection and in the collection of the North Carolina Historical Commission. See Bemis, *op cit.*, 108, note 12.

He manifested a desire for the affairs of our two nations to be settled amicably and showed signs of being convinced by my reasoning, but he has many misgivings about the settlers on the banks of the Ohio and the Mississippi.

He promised me to do what he could to help settle our differences, but said this would be difficult until after the establishment of the new government.

After mature reflection I have formulated my idea of what we can expect, and I confess to Your Excellency with the greatest sincerity, that I believe I can negotiate the Treaty if the new plan of government is established, because leading persons, whom I have sounded out with as much tact as I possess, seem favorable, but it will be necessary, Your Excellency, to undeceive ourselves; I mean to say, that they will not depart from their position of refusing expressly to cede the right they claim to the navigation of the Mississippi, and they will agree to the treaty only when they see no way to avoid it, and for the purpose of gaining fifteen or twenty years in order to be able to talk to us in another tone, because the intention of all of the Southern States, and of the multitudes who (now more than ever) are trying to migrate is to get nearer to our possessions and to that River.

One of the matters on which Congress has worked most this year, has been the means of preserving that country to the Confederation, and it has decided on the new system of Government[26] of which I gave an account in my official communication.

The promoters who appeared at first were people of the middle class, but, as soon as the purchase of the land was accomplished, there came to the front several Generals and other persons of Character, quality, and talent who bring with them others of distinction; but my misgivings do not stop here.

I have omitted no measures to get at the inside of this enterprise, which is kept secret among a very few, but who are able and conspicuous, and up to the present I have reasons for informing Your Excellency that it includes other persons whose names cannot now be made public, who are officials and persons of first rank, who, having made it possible for the new government to control all the North Bank of the Ohio, do not intend to settle between the Muskingum and the Scioto Rivers, as is commonly believed, but on Cap a la Bruche[27] or the juncture of the Ohio and the Mississippi, so as to control all the commerce of the several Lakes and Rivers of that vast country and in time to provide an outlet by the waters of the Mississippi, because they calculate that some time it will be necessary to communicate with New Orleans, either because they may acquire it by force, or because as independent of the United States they will be able to ally themselves with His Majesty on the terms that he may grant them.

It seems to me that we should be on our guard and take timely measures against the unknown persons who are forming this plan for a piece of territory which they expect to take on both banks of the two rivers, and up to Vincennes Post, on account of the richness of the soil there and other things that I might mention to Your Excellency, because all to which they so vehemently aspire reduces itself to obtaining communication with us without regard for the United States or anything else but their own interests and conveniences.

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[26]The Ordinance of 1787 for the Northwest Territory.

[27]On the margin is the following note: "Cap a la bruche en otros mapas The Forks of the Misisipi."

However strong the Government of the United States may become, I do not believe that it will ever be sufficiently powerful to bring into subjection the people dwelling beyond the Mountains, and if my misgivings are well-founded, those who are trying to put over the new project realize this better than anyone, and their attitude being altogether Military, will outlast the time of their subjection [to the Government of the United States].

I know them quite well, and if my enthusiasm does not deceive me I expect to penetrate this maze which has been closed to the public and I shall report my findings to Your Excellency so that His Majesty may take the timely measures that he thinks proper.

The English perhaps view with pleasure this situation but I dare suggest to them that they may lose all their precious Fur trade, or that the King may divert it to New Orleans to the injury of the trade now carried on by those States and Canada.

From my official communication Your Excellency will understand the feelings of those inhabitants [of the West] against our Settlements, and will see the letter that Mr. Jay wrote to me.

I believe he is sincere and also this Government in general, because they are not disposed to quarrel with anybody, but hope for great advantage from war in Europe which they flatter themselves is inevitable, because they think they will be the carriers for all the Nations, and on account of this and of the strengthening of the Confederation they believe they will be courted by everybody.

In the meantime, nevertheless, the new Ambassador to Spain appointed by England is causing them concern.

They fear that we may make convenient agreements with that nation that will destroy many of the advantages they enjoy in Spain, and also fear that the two nations may make a treaty about their possessions, boundaries, and other affairs of this nature.

In view of this fact, because it would greatly increase their fears, I suggested to Your Excellency that my absence for a short time would have favorable results. I firmly believe that if peace continues it will wake them up and they will seek the King's favor, and on our part we shall risk nothing, for until the new system of government is established there will be nothing to do that could not be attended to by either of my two assistants who are well-behaved and honorable.

As for me, Your Excellency, what I said was that in proof of my gratitude for your honors and protection, I referred to the season, so assure yourself, Your Excellency, that in spite of the disagreeableness of crossing the Ocean, and of recrossing it, if His Majesty is pleased for me to continue in this position, I shall gladly embrace the opportunity in order to bring these people to reason; therefore, sir, I have no other will than that of Your Excellency.

I am following as far as possible the steps of the wretched Sullivan,[88] and I have ascertained that about the 8th of last month he was in Charleston with the person to whom he sent the letter that was stolen; according to the pilots of those waters and that country, and according to what has been written, I must infer that if some attack is attempted, it will go by the

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[88]John Sullivan. Compare this letter with Gardoqui to Ezpeleta, November 12, 1787, in installment V of these "Papers," *Publications*, No. 13, 103-04.

Tennessee River, and in that case it will not be started until spring which is the time when the waters of that river are high and rapid.

This is the most normal course of events, but I cannot believe that they will be able to get together a sufficient number of people and a quantity of ammunition much less persons of capacity who will dare to make such an attempt; nevertheless, I shall take care to watch them as far as circumstances permit.

It seems probable that the plan of government suggested by this Convention will be ratified by the required nine States, perhaps during next year, in spite of the opposition which is expected from the important states of Virginia and New York.

The first is divided into two factions composed of its leading citizens, and they have postponed the Meeting of their state Convention to consider the matter until May.

Although no one knows what will happen in this convention, it is asserted that the Governor and his faction, which is the strongest, are violently opposed to the constitution. It is to be expected that their assembly will meet as usual at the beginning of the year and that in it they will reveal their will.

In the meantime there is an infinite amount of writing pro and con, but it seems that the majority inclines toward ratification, rather, in my opinion, because of the depleted state of their Treasury and the decayed condition of Commerce, than because of a knowledge of the sacrifices that the people are making for the Government.

They expect great benefits from it, but I confess that I do not find any reason why they should change their system of exclusion which has been established for them, so that I expect that even after this trial they will find that they have advanced little.

England seems to despise them, and so far there is no thought of appointing a new Minister to that Court.

Baron Steuben, of whom I spoke to Your Excellency some time ago, importunes me constantly.

I have avoided him as well as possible while awaiting Your Excellency's orders, and finally he sought me out on the 1st of last month urging me again to write you begging you to offer him at the Feet of His Majesty as an honorable Officer who, having discharged the obligations under which he came here, is now free from any to the United States, which *he says* has treated him infamously and villainously (those were his words).

I tried to comfort him without other reply or promise to his offer than words of good breeding, telling him that I would see if Spain would provide any means of serving him.

He repeated that he had studied these States and their peoples thoroughly, and that, since he had trained the majority of the young Officers who are migrating daily to the banks of the Mississippi and the Ohio, he believed that no one could influence them in favor of Spain better than he, because they looked on him as a Father.

I shall not tire Your Excellency with a multitude of details which would be to no purpose, but acting on the principle of distrusting everybody and the presumption that if this person is not taken away from here he may determine to follow those who are already on the aforesaid Rivers, I will do whatever Your Excellency thinks best.

The Viceroy of Santa Fe[29] has approved the commission that he gave Don Salvador de los Monteros, and although he has advised him to consult with me, he has decided to consult about only what he assures me is urgent, which is the dispatch of Flour in Spanish vessels and of the families with which that Viceroy charged me.

Although I hope that the Almighty, through the wise dispositions of the King, will keep us from the war that some people wish for us, Your Excellency will please pardon the liberty I take in explaining that during the last war it cost many millions to supply food to the army and the Navy and even to His Majesty's Subjects in our Islands and on part of the mainland.

These people [the Americans] were allowed to enter our possessions, they demanded exorbitant prices, and took out the value of their goods in specie, while Sugar and other articles of our produce were piling up for lack of purchasers.

In view of this, it has occurred to me that in case of necessity, if it is His Majesty's pleasure to order the person occupying this position to supply, if he understood the matter, whatever is necessary, it could be done at cost and thereby save many millions to the Royal Treasury and at the same time provide consumption for the crops of the subjects.

The operation is simple and I anticipate immense benefits from it because it will prevent the contraband that the Americans carried on from which has arisen so much complaint, and even that of the French who absorbed so many millions secretly.

In the general account that I remit with this correspondence, Your Excellency will note that I charged an item of 5750 Pesos which I justify to you by the following account:

5000 Pesos which on two occasions I ventured by way of a loan to Mr. Henry Lee[30] as I advised Your Excellency at that time in my confidential communications.

300 Pesos which in like manner I risked to Mr. John Partler because it is well to do so.

450 Pesos for several Entertainments for the person indicated in my last account.

This is the total of my expenditures, and I hope it meets Your Excellency's approval.

The State of Virginia continues to oppose our ideas tenaciously and has appointed a person from the Kentucky country as a Member of this Congress,[31] but this does not surprise me because there are certain powerful persons who have much influence and, according to reports, large debts from which they expect to escape by using those new territories which have cost them nothing.

These people are bitterly opposed to the new plan of Confederation because if it goes into effect they will lose their importance and will be in

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[29]Antonio Caballero y Góngora, archbishop of Santa Fe de Bogatá and viceroy of New Granada. At that time he was engaged in an attempt to establish Spanish control over the Mosquito Coast in Central America. This threatened to cause a break with England.

[30]Gardoqui used Lee and White to obtain information about Congress. It seems that he hoped Lee could influence Washington. Bemis, *op cit.*, 104, 107-08. The author of this work believes that the loan was never repaid.

[31]John Brown, of Frankfort, elected through Wilkinson's influence.

financial straits and they fear that we shall make the agreement we desire.

At one time I considered refuting anonymously the writings of which I send a translation, but on investigating them thoroughly I found that they were productions of the Members who were here, and that it would not be worth while to contradict them, and I have since had this confirmed, because I have seen that they are not worthy of much attention.

I send this in duplicate to Philadelphia because I am informed that there are two vessels there that are about to sail, and I conclude with enclosing the adjoining paper concerning my entertainment on San Carlos' Day so that Your Excellency may see that I am continuing the work. . . .

New York, December 6, 1787. . . .

Diego Gardoqui

His Excellency the Conde de Floridablanca, etc.

First draft of a reply to letter No. 18[32]

Aranjuez, May 24, 1788

To Don Diego Gardoqui

Confidential

Informing him of His Majesty's plans to draw to his allegiance the inhabitants of the Ohio and the Mississippi valleys.

That it would be best for him not to leave there for the present, and that he shall not be forgotten.

That his reflections on the means of providing supplies for our Troops and Fleet in America in case of war are appreciated; and that it would be wise to prepare a memorial on this important subject so as to have it ready for any emergency.

My dear sir: Having taken the resolutions that you will see in the Official communication for correspondence with you, I reply on this occasion to your confidential letter number 18 of December 6 of last year; but I shall not dwell on the points that are treated in the other letters about which I have nothing to add confidentially.

Neither is it necessary for me to say anything to you about the terms which you think are the only ones that will assist in promoting the part of the treaty concerned with the boundaries and the navigation of the Mississippi, for you have already seen by my letters of September 5 and October 6[33] that we shall limit ourselves strictly to what they may desire. The King has taken charge of what you mention in this confidential letter.

Our idea is to attract to us the inhabitants of the Provinces of Ohio and the Mississippi; either through an alliance by which they place themselves under the King's protection or through a union with his dominions under pacts which guarantee their liberty; furnishing them with an outlet through New Orleans for their produce and an opportunity in that City to provide themselves with what they need from other countries. But since this should be agreed upon in conformity with the plan that is being worked out for the Commerce of Louisiana, more detailed instructions cannot be given to you until this is decided upon. In the meantime we believe that it will help to incline those people to us by the Chevalier Wouves'[34] divulg-

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[32]Appended to Gardoqui's confidential letter No. 18.

[33]These letters were concerned with the instructions to, and the mission of Pierre Wouves d'Argés. Whitaker, *op cit.*, 81-83, and notes 5 and 8, chapter VI.

[34]Pierre Wouves d'Argés, a Chevalier of the Order of St. Louis, had resided in Kentucky for some three years. Having warned the Spanish ministry of the danger from the westerners, he was sent to Kentucky by way of New York to recruit settlers from

ing the plans and the offers we have decided to make as he is authorized to do, so you may also carefully spread them there among the persons on whom it is wise to produce the desired effect, or who are the channels through whom the said Settlements may be established. It will be well, as soon as you have acquired all the reports that you expect to obtain concerning the formation of the new State of Kentucky, to communicate them to us for the information of His Majesty and the Ministry.

In order that we may be kept informed about this matter, and in order that those people may be cultivated as I have suggested and also in order that we may be kept up to date about the progress of the establishment of the new plan of government, it is necessary that you remain there for the present and not absent yourself under temporary leave from His Majesty as you suggested on one occasion, although we will not forget to remove you from there as soon as possible. The state of affairs in Europe also demands that you remain where you are for the present; for although it is the plan of the King to avoid as far as possible taking part in the war between Vienna, St. Petersburg and Constantinople, we do not now know how far this Conflagration may spread; nor that we shall be able to curb it as was done with the recent one that threatened last year.

Those are very appropriate measures which your zeal has prompted you to suggest in your letter for supplying food to our troops and vessels in America in case of war and in so doing save the immense expense that these things caused in the last war; and it would be very useful if during your spare time you should prepare a memorial on this important matter, so that it may be available at any time for the proper Ministers.

In the Official communication approval is given to your annual account of expenses, and I may add here that I am informed of the manner in which you distributed the secret fund.

I close by exhorting you to be careful and to take care of yourself, having assured that the King is satisfied with your services, and that I desire to gratify you as far as it is in my power, and I ask God, etc.

I have already told you in my confidential letter of September 5 that, if Baron Steuben comes as a traveling Gentleman, he shall be treated with proper distinction, and after hearing his propositions we shall see what circumstances permit.

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the West for the Natchez district. See Whitaker, *op cit.*, chapter VI, for an account of his mission.

THE LAWS OF EAST TENNESSEE COLLEGE, 1821

Edited by Stanley J. Folmsbee

In striking contrast with the freedom of movement and activity allowed the college students of today are the rules and regulations which restrained those attending the institution now called the University of Tennessee a century or more ago. The "Laws" given below, as adopted in 1821, and including some of the amendments added prior to 1838, are published in recognition of the sesquicentennial of the University of Tennessee being celebrated this year.[1]

As a part of this introduction it will be advisable to sketch briefly the history of the University to 1840. Before being incorporated under the name "University of Tennessee" in 1879, the institution had been known by three other names: as Blount College, from 1794 to 1807; East Tennessee College from 1807 to 1840; and East Tennessee University, from 1840 to 1879. Its first charter was granted on September 10, 1794 by the assembly of the federal territory which was to become the state of Tennessee two years later. The school was named in honor of William Blount, the governor of this Southwest Territory, and was to be located in Knoxville, the territorial capital, then a small frontier town established only three years before.

Not only was Blount College the second institution of higher learning west of the Blue Ridge Mountains to receive a charter as a "college," [2] but its charter was notably unique in its specific requirement that a non-sectarian policy be adopted. Nevertheless, its first and only president, and only teacher, was a Presbyterian minister, Rev. Samuel Carrick. Even more unusual was the admission of five young ladies as students. This co-educational policy

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[1] The editor is at present engaged in the preparation of a history of the University of Tennessee from 1794 to the beginning of the present administration in 1933.

[2] The first was Greeneville College (now Tusculum) chartered by the same assembly a few days before. R. S. Rankin, "The Oldest College West of the Alleghanies," in East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 1 (1929), 19. Of greater age, of course, but not as "colleges," are both Washington College, in Tennessee, and Transylvania University, in Kentucky. The mountainous section of the Southern Appalachians is now referred to by physiographers as the "Blue Ridge Province." The term "Alleghanies" is used erroneously by Rankin.

was discontinued, however, when the institution was re-incorporated as East Tennessee College.[3]

The occasion for the grant of this new charter in 1807 was the selection of the institution as one of the two colleges in the state to be subsidized by a land grant of 50,000 acres each provided for in the Compact by 1806, which resolved the long-standing dispute between Tennessee, North Carolina and the United States over title to land in Tennessee. Most of this land was occupied by "squatters," however, who successfully resisted the half-hearted efforts of the state to collect even the $1.00 an acre preemption price for their holdings until more effective legislation was enacted in 1823. This law served merely to antagonize these pioneers, and it created a very unfavorable reaction toward higher education in Tennessee. Not until the College acquired some University of North Carolina land warrants in 1822 and 1825 and the state provided for a substitute land grant in 1838, did the institution receive any significant amount of governmental aid.

Consequently, after the death of President Carrick in 1809, the institution suspended operations until 1820.[4] At that time a consolidation was effected with Hampden-Sidney Academy of Knoxville, and David A . Sherman, principal of the Academy assumed the presidency of the combined institutions. Soon thereafter the board of trustees adopted the "Laws" given below, which remained the basic rules and regulations of the College until the board adopted a general revision on October 16, 1829. Unfortunately, these changes were not incorporated in the Minutes of the Board of Trustees, as was also the case with a later revision adopted on April 6, 1838. Several printed copies of this revision, *Laws of the College of East Tennessee, Enacted by the Board, April,* 1838 (Knoxville, 1838), however, are in the University of Tennessee Library.

In 1826 the union of Hampden-Sidney Academy was dissolved and East Tennessee College resumed independent operation. At that time the site of the present main campus of the University of Tennessee was purchased and the school moved from its original Blount College location (at the present Gay and Clinch Streets near where the Burwell Building now stands) to the "Hill." For one year Professor James McBath served as president pro-tem, un-

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[3] Moses White, *The Early History of the University of Tennessee* (Knoxville, 18[illegible]), 7-14; E. T. Sanford, *Blount College and the University of Tennessee* (Knoxville, 1894).

[4] There is a gap in the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Trustees of East Tennessee College from April 11, 1809 to October 5, 1820. An effort to raise money by means of a lottery failed in 1810. P. M. Hamer, "The East Tennessee College Lottery," in *The Tennessee Alumnus,* IX, No. 1 (January, 1926).

til Dr. Charles Coffin, president of Greeneville College, was induced to accept the presidency, even though the hoped-for consolidation of East Tennessee College and Greeneville College failed to materialize. Following Dr. Coffin's resignation in 1832, James H. Piper was elected president and served for one year. He was succeeded in 1834 by Joseph Estabrook, who held the position for ten years after the name of the institution was changed to East Tennessee University. At the time of the publication of the first catalogue of East Tennessee College, in 1838, there were ninety-five students enrolled, of whom forty-seven were in the "Preparatory and Scientific Department." By 1839 the enrollment had increased to 111, but it had declined to 87 in 1840. The faculty consisted of five professors, including the president.

Although the "Laws" given below were ordered printed at the time of their adoption, no copy of this early printing has been found. For this publication, they were copied from the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Trustees of East Tennessee College (President's Office, University of Tennessee) for October 11, 1821, and for the subsequent dates at which amendments or additions were made. Probably the most important of these additions is the course of study adopted in May, 1829. The course of study for 1839, taken from the *Catalogue,* is also included as a basis for comparison. Care has been taken to leave the spelling, capitalization, and punctuation as they are in the original.

THE LAWS OF EAST TENNESSEE COLLEGE

Chap. 1 [5]

Of the government of the College—The government of the College shall be vested in the President, Professors and Tutors or such officers as shall be duly elected, qualified and introduced into office and shall be styled the Faculty of the College.

2nd The President shall have power to direct in all matters relating to the College; to govern the Students, and to punish all crimes and offenses, committed by them against the laws of the College, except in cases referred by law to the Faculty or Trustees.

3rd The Professors and tutors, severally, shall have power to govern the undergraduate students, and to punish them for any crimes, except in cases referred by law to the Faculty or Trustees; provided that they may not, in any case, proceed contrary to the advice and direction of the President.

4th The President, at his discretion shall have authority to appoint a meeting of the Faculty. All matters, which by law are referred to the Faculty, shall be brought before such meetings and determined by the major part of

[5] This chapter was apparently expanded to include a section 6 in the revision of the "Laws" adopted on October 16, 1829, for on April 7, 1830 a new section 7 was added providing that a monthly circular letter should be sent to parents and guardians regarding the progress of the students.

the members present, whereof the President shall be always One, and concurring in such determination: and when the members present shall be equally divided the President shall have a casting vote.

5th [6] Every judgment for expulsion, dismission for fault, suspension, public admonition, and sending a student home, shall be by the Faculty, except in cases provided for by the State Legislature; and every judgment for expulsion and dismission, shall be in writing and published before the assembled students in such manner as the President shall direct—copies of all such judgments, on application to the President shall be given to all concerned—and if any student shall apprehend himself aggrieved by any such Judgment, he shall have liberty at any time after the same shall have been given, of applying to the President, by a petition in writing, for a new trial; and on such petition the President shall order a new trial to be had—Should the student his parent or guardian prefer making an appeal to the Trustees, to a new trial before the Faculty, or should he feel aggrieved by the result of such new trial before the Faculty, he shall have the liberty of bringing a petition to the Trustees for relief, which petition he shall lodge with the President and the President shall, as speedily as may be, lay the same before the Trustees at a meeting warned in the manner directed in the act of incorporation, unless a stated session of the Trustees shall be at hand.

Chap. 2nd [7]

Of admission into the College—Manners.

1st No candidate shall be permitted to attend on the Collegiate exercises untill he shall have been regularly examined and approved; nor untill he shall have complied with the conditions prescribed in the 4th article of this chapter and in chapter nine.

2nd Every candidate for admission into the College shall produce satisfactory evidence of a good moral character.

3rd No Student shall be admitted as a member of this College from any other college unless he produces a certificate from the proper authority, that he has been subject to no College censure; except on a hearing the Faculty or Trustees shall deem it consistent with the interest of the College to admit him.

4th No candidates name shall be registered untill he shall have subscribed the following engagements—I A. B. on condition of being admitted as a member of East Tennessee College promise, on my faith and Honor, to observe all the laws and regulations of this College; particularly, that I will faithfully avoid using profane language, gaming, and all indecent, disorderly behaviour and disrespectful conduct to the Faculty of the same; as Witness my hand.

5th Every student not belonging to the Town of Knoxville shall be under the guardianship of a patron approved by the Faculty, such patron to be chosen by the parent or legal guardian of the student or appointed by the President: and no student shall contract any debt without a written permission from his patron, on penalty of being privately dismissed.

6th Masters and Bachelors of Arts, who shall signify to the President their purpose of residing in the Town of Knoxville, with a view of pursuing

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[6] Amended May 9, 1829. See below.

[7] This chapter was also expanded in the revision of October 16, 1829. A new section 17 was added on April 7, 1830 requiring the public reading of the "Laws" on the first Friday of each month.

literature under his direction, and under government of the College, and give sufficient bond to the President and Fellows for the payment of their term Bills, shall be considered as resident graduates and students of the College.

7th When any of the Faculty is present each student shall enter the College-hall with his head uncovered, and shall immediately take his seat and attend to his studies in silence.

8th If the students shall be assembled in the College Hall, when any member of the Faculty shall first enter they shall all rise and receive him with respect. The same rule shall be observed at the entrance and departure of any respectable stranger in the course of the day.

9th When any class is called to recite, they shall take their seats together, and each student, when called to recite his part shall stand upright and answer respectfully.

10th Students who prove faithful and diligent shall be allowed to retire for private study to their lodgings, upon asking leave of any member of the Faculty at any time except at the time of recitation for their class.

11th No whispering, laughing, looking about, unnecessary noise or indecent conduct shall be allowed amongst the Students in the College at any time.

12th When the Students are dismissed in the evening they shall retire silently in order and shall repair, without delay, to their lodgings and diligently pursue their studies; they shall not waste their time in idleness or unnecessary company or amusement.

13th All the Students shall be publickly examined at the close of each Session by the Faculty who may publickly proclaim the proficiency and standing of each student and report the same to the Board of Trustees.

14th If any student shall be absent from the public examination, he shall be publickly examined before he shall join his class.

15th If any student shall be found deficient upon examination or shall be disorderly in the course of any session he may be publickly mentioned as a bad scholar or as irregular and may be admonished and put into such a class as shall suit his standing.

Chap. 3rd

Religious order and worship.

1st It shall be the duty of the Faculty, diligently to inspect and watch over the manners and behaviour of the Students and in all proper methods, by example and precept to recommend to them a virtuous and blameless life and a diligent attention to the public and private duties of religion.

2nd The President, or in his absence one of the Professors or one of the Tutors, shall pray every morning, and if convenient in the evening in the College and read a chapter or some suitable portion of Scripture; [8] unless a Sermon or some other theological discourse shall be delivered. And every undergraduate Student shall be obliged to attend unless he can render a sufficient excuse for absence.

3rd The President is desired frequently to deliver, in the College, Lectures or dissertations on such religious moral and other subjects as he shall judge proper for the instruction of the College; which being publickly appointed, every student shall attend.

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[8] As a result of the sectarian controversies which were raging at the time, it was ordered on April 7, 1831 that this reading of the Bible should be "without comment."

4th It is enjoined upon all the Students to observe the Lords day as holy and Sacred to the duties of religion; and if any Student shall profane the said day by making indecent noise or disturbance or shall behave indecently or profanely at the time of public worship or at prayers in the College he may be punished by admonition or otherwise, as the nature and demerit of the crime shall require.

Chap. 4 [9]

Of the course of Academic Literature and instruction in the College

1st The Faculty shall instruct the undergraduate students in the three learned Languages, the liberal arts and whole course of Academic Literature.

2nd The President with the advice of the Professors and Tutors shall appoint all classical exercises and examinations and the authors which shall be read and recited by the respective classes. And it shall be the duty of the President annually at the commencement to lay before the Trustees the state and method of instruction, the authors recited, and the progress of literary improvement in the College.

Each Professor shall at his discretion, deliver, occasionally public Lectures in the College.

The Students are required universally to assemble at each Lecture according to the direction of the Professors; and shall by them be required to account for absence and any other negligence.

Each student shall take notes of the several heads of the instruction delivered at each Lecture; and shall be examined by the Professors concerning the Knowledge which he has gained from the preceeding lecture.

3rd The Signior classes shall dispute before the President or their Tutors at least once a fortnight—and on Wednesdays in the afternoon the Students shall declaim in the College, agreeably to the directions of the Faculty; and each one whenever required shall deliver his declamation to the President or to his Tutor, fairly written with his name subscribed—The President may appoint a monitor who shall previously notify those who are to declaim and at the time of declaiming, deliver a catalogue of them to the President, Professor or Tutulor.

4th [10] If any student shall be absent from any lecture recitation, disputation or other classical exercise duly appointed, he may be admonished; and every student who shall be absent from an examination appointed by the Faculty shall receive such college punishment as the Nature of the offense may require.

5th Students who do not intend to graduate may be permitted to join any class for which the Faculty may judge them qualified.

6th Till circumstances allow a different arrangement the President and existing Officers shall divide among them the branches of education to be taught at the institution.

7th A limitted number of indigent young men may be allowed tuition gratis on exhibiting satisfactory testimony of indigence and good character.

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[9] The course of study adopted on May 9, 1829, given below, may be considered in effect as an amendment to this chapter. Following a considerable expansion of the number of sections in chapter 4 in the October 16, 1829 revision, a substitute for section 13 was adopted on April 7, 1831, providing that "declamations shall take place under the direction of the faculty at the close of the other daily exercises of the College, so that every student shall have an opportunity to declaim as often as once a month."

[10] Amended May 9, 1829. See below.

The number to be fixed annually, or for each Session by the Trustees.[11]

Chap. 5

Of Vacations and absence from the College

1st There shall be two vacations annually to consist of four weeks each, and to commence immediately after each public examination.

2nd Immediately upon the expiration of every vacation, the undergraduate Students shall assemble at the College. If any Students shall voluntarily absent himself from the College without a just and honorable excuse, when by law he ought to be present the Faculty shall have power at their discretion to correct such disobedience as the nature of the case may require.

Chap. 6

Of College damages and the assessment of them

1st When any damage shall be found done, except by the inevitable providence of God, to any chamber or study in the College, the same shall be assessed upon all the undergraduate students, and charged in their term Bills, Provided always, if the person or persons who were principals or accessories in doing any such damages shall be discovered, he or they shall make full satisfaction for the same; and if they shall have been done intentionally by any student or students they shall each be liable to any college punishment which the circumstances of the offence shall require.

2nd The President shall cause to be estimated all damages of broken glass at the end of every term, and the same shall be assessed upon the students according to law and charged in their term Bills.

3rd To ascertain other damages done to the College builings and appurtenances, there shall be annually, at commencement, three persons, who shall be called Inspectors of the College, and any two of them have power to act, whose duty it shall be to inspect and estimate all damages done to the College buildings and appurtenances whenever they shall be required by the President—And all estimates of damages, particularly stated the Inspectors shall deliver to the President in writing with their names subscribed; which estimate with a reasonable compensation to the Inspectors for their trouble, shall be the rule by which the undergraduates shall be assessed and charged respectively by the President for damages in the term Bill next after estimates shall have been made.

4th All damages estimated by the Inspectors of the College shall, by order of the President, be immediately repaired when practicable; and when in the opinion of the Inspectors it shall be expedient that any damage done to the College or to any of the appurtenances thereof should be repaired before an estimate of such damage is made the President shall order the repairs to be made; and provided the repair is full and complete, the actual expense shall be a rule to the Inspectors in the estimate of the damage; otherwise it shall be assessed according to their discretion.

5th Whenever, in the opinion of the Inspectors of the College it shall be necessary that the College or any part of the public chambers or entries thereof should be whitewashed or cleansed the same shall be done by order of the President under the direction of the Inspectors or some one of them; the expense of which shall be paid out of the College Treasury.

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[11] On October 3, 1829, and for several subsequent years, this number was fixed by the board at two from each county of East Tennessee.

Chap. 7
Of crimes and misdemeanors

1st Every student whether a graduate or undergraduate shall be subject to the laws of government of the College and shew in speech and behaviour, all proper tokens of Reverence and obedience to the Faculty of the College: and if any student shall transgress this law by treating them or any of them with reviling or reproachful language or by behaving contumaciously or contemptuously toward them, or by being guilty of any kind of contempt of their persons or authority he may be punished by any censure, even to expulsion, as the nature of aggravations of his crime may require.

2nd If any Student shall be guilty of Blasphemy, Robbery, fornication, theft, forgory, duelling or any other crime for which an infamous punishment may be inflicted by the laws of the State, he shall be expelled.

3rd If any student shall assault, wound or strike the President a Professor or Tutor, or shall maliciously or designedly break their windows or doors he shall be expelled.

4th [12] If any student shall be guilty of fighting, striking, quarrelling, challenging, turbulent words or behavior, wearing womens apparel, fraud, lying, defamation, or any such like crimes, he shall be punished by fine, admonition or other College punishments suited to the nature and demerit of the crime.

5th If any Student shall be guilty of an injury to a fellow-Student or to any other person within the Town of Knoxville, upon complaint and proof thereof made to the President, he shall with the advice of the Professors and Tutors give judgment thereon and order satisfaction to be made according to the nature of the offence or injury except on points in which the law of the land afford a sufficient remedy—If any student refuse to make such satisfaction he shall be publickly admonished; and if after admonition he persist in such a refusal, he shall be dismissed.

6th If any student shall refuse to assist the President, a Professor or Tutor in suppressing any disorder, or to give his evidence respecting any matter under examination when in any of those cases required: or shall falsely declare himself ignorant of the matter, he may be punished by admonition, suspension, or expulsion, as the circumstances of the crime may require; provided that no student shall be compelled to give evidence against himself.

7th [13] If any student without leave obtained of the President or one of the Professors or of the Tutors, shall go out of the Town of Knoxville, or beyond the place allowed, or shall not return by the appointed time, he may be punished by fine, admonition, or otherwise according to the degree and circumstances of the offence.

8th Every student in studying time, shall abstain from hollowing, singing, loud talking, playing on a musical instrument and other noise in the College or its neighborhood.

9th If any student shall play at Billiards, cards or dice or any other unlawful games or at Backgammon or at any game for a wager, or shall keep in his chamber cards or other implements of gaming, he shall be punished for the first offence by admonition and for any subsequent offence may be suspended or sent home.

10th If any student shall venture any money or goods in any kind of

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[12] Interpreted as allowing "corporal punishment" on April 6, 1822. See below.
[13] Amended May 9, 1829. See below.

Lottery, or chance game, not allowed by the laws of the land; he shall be punished by admonition or expulsion as the nature and circumstances of the case may require.

11th If any combinations or agreements to do any unlawful act, or to forbear compliance with any injunction from lawful authority in the College, shall be entered into by any undergraduates; or if any enormity, disorder or act of disobedience shall be perpetrated by any undergraduates in consequence of such combination or agreements, in both or either of those cases, such and so many of the Offenders shall, upon due conviction, be punished with admonition dismission, or expulsion according to the circumstances of their offences, as shall be judged necessary for the preservation of good order in the College.

12th Every student shall be answerable for all vicious, scandalous and immoral conduct during the several vacations in the same manner as in term time.

13th No student shall be questioned for any testimony he may give in regard to a violation of a law of this College; and in case any student shall so question his fellow students to ascertain whether he hath testified, or with an intent to bring him into contempt or shall endeavor to bring into contempt any student, because he has testified, the Student so acting shall be deemed to have committed an offence, and may be proceeded against by the Faculty according to the aggravation of the offence, even to dismission.

Chap. 8

Of commencement and Academical degrees

1st The commencement, shall be on the first Thursday of October annually.

2nd No Student may expect the honor of the first degree, unless he stand approved examinations on all the branches of study pursued in the College, and shall have been approved as a candidate for the same; and also have, on the day before the commencement, produced a certificate from the Treasurer that he has paid to him his due.

3rd No candidate for the second degree may expect the honor of the same, unless he shall have preserved a good moral character, and previous to the commencement signified to the President his desire of the same—
All candidates for either degree shall be personally present unless in any instance the President and Trustees shall Judge it proper to confer the honor of degree upon an absent candidate, in which case he shall pay into the College Treasury one dollar, or such greater sums as the President and Trustees shall appoint.

4th All academical honors shall be given by the President with the consent of the Trustees; And the candidates for a first or a second degree, shall each, for the same pay to the President four dollars.

5th Students who do not wish to pursue all the branches of education taught in the College, shall, on leaving the institution, be entitled to a certificate or Diploma from the President and Trustees stating the branches of education he has pursued and his proficiency in them—No Student, however, shall be entitled to this privilege whose conduct shall not have been good and his proficiency respectable.

Chap. 9

Of College dues and term or Session Bills

1st Every Student shall on his admission to the College and before he is allowed to recite, produce to the President or his proper Instructor, a

certificate from the Treasurer, that he has paid in advance half the sum required for tuition for a session; Provided that when more than half a Session shall have expired before such Student shall be admitted, he shall be charged for such part of the Session only as shall remain.

AMENDMENTS

April 6, 1822

Resolved that it is the sense of this Board that corporal punishment is allowed to be inflicted in this College by the terms of the 4th Section Chapter 7 of the laws of the same—

May 12, 1827

Ordered that no student shall, during term time, attend any other school, or any dancing party, or any public festive entertainment in the town of Knoxville or its vicinity; and every one who may violate this law shall be suspended or dismissed from the College at the discretion of the faculty, subject to the right of appeal to the Board of Trustees and to their final decision—[14]

But the singing school now teaching in Knoxville, during its present Session, is an exception—

May 9, 1829

The following was adopted as the course of studies [15] in the college—Requisitions for admission into the Freshman class—Marnays English Grammar—Arithmetic—Worcesters Geography—Adams Latin Grammar—Liber Primus—Vivi Romae—Virgil—Cicero, Select Orations—Sallust—Danas Latin Tutor—Hachenburgs Greek Grammar & Jacobs Greek Reader—Freshmans Class 1st Term—Adams Roman Antiquities—Livy—Graeca Majora begun—Algebra begun—Translation & Composition alternately each every four weeks, through the year Declamation, Parsing in English—2nd Term Cicero de Oratore—Graeca Majora continued—Algebra continued—History—Sophomore Class 1st term—Horace Euclid 6 Books—Blairs Lectures—Days Plane Trigonometry—Surveying and Navigation—Essays and Forensic disputations, alternately once a fortnight, through this and remaining years—Declamation & English parsing—2nd Term—Graeca Majora continued—Mensuration—Gauging—Spherical Trigonometry—Hedges Logic—Junior Class 1st Term—Duttons Conic Sections—Tacitus—Chemistry—Paleys Natural Theology—2nd Term—Graeca Majora continued—Enfields Natural Philosophy—Paleys Evidences—Paleys Moral Philosophy—Senior Class 1st Term—Graeca Majora concluded—Locke, Hedges, Brown, Vattels Law of Nations—2nd Term—Butlers Analogy—Political Economy—Greek Testament or Hebrew or French Language, at

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[14] This rule was apparently omitted from the revision of October 16, 1829, but was re-incorporated on April 1, 1830 with a change in wording to "dancing party or public entertainment." The rule was finally repealed on April 7, 1839.

[15] It is doubtful if this course of study was followed very closely, for the *Catalogue* of 1838 states that "The College has never been organized into regular classes until within the last twelve months." The course of study given in the *Catalogue* of 1838 is included as chapter three of the *Laws of the College of East Tennessee,* published the same year. These courses of study are very similar to the extremely classical curricula in vogue at the time at Harvard and Yale, and which were eloquently defended in a report of the Yale faculty published in 1828. See L. F. Snow, *The College Curriculum in the United States* (New York, 1907), 126-29,143-54. The president of East Tennessee College in 1829, Dr. Coffin, was a graduate of Harvard, and his predecessor, D. A. Sherman, was a graduate of Yale and a former tutor at that institution. President Estabrook, 1834-1850, was a Dartmouth graduate.

the option of the Student-Recitations in the Bible once a week by all students in each class.

The following law was also adopted and passed in lieu of the 4th Section of Chap. 4, which is hereby repealed—Every student deficient in any college exercise may be required to make amends for his deficiency, by extraordinary study and recitation at a time appointed by his Instructor, and if any one shall refuse to comply with this rule or be habitually guilty of idleness, and deficiency, he may be dismissed or expelled.

The following was adopted and enacted in lieu of Section 5 of Chap. 1st, which section is hereby repealed

"Every judgment for expulsion; for refusing an applicant admission into College, on account of character and not literary qualifications; dismissions for fault; suspensions and sending a student home, shall be by the faculty, except in cases provided for by the state Legislature; and every judgment shall be in writing, and be published before the assembled students in such manner as the President shall direct—copies of all such judgments shall on application be given by the President to all persons concerned—and if any student or applicant for admission into college shall apprehend himself aggrieved by any such judgment he shall have liberty at any time, after the same shall have been given of applying to the President by a petition in writing, for a new trial; and on receiving any such petition, the President shall order a new trial to be had. Should the student or applicant or his Parent or Guardian, prefer making an appeal to the Trustees, to a new trial before the Faculty, or should he feel aggrieved by the result of such new trial before the Faculty he shall have the liberty of bringing a petition to the Trustees for relief, which petition he shall lodge with the President, and the President shall as speedily as may be, lay it before the Trustees, at a meeting named in the manner directed by the act of incorporation, unless a stated session of the Trustees shall be at hand (The following was added to Chapter 2 Section 2 and adopted as part of the laws) unless he has come ignorant of this requisition, and nothing appears to his prejudice; in which case he shall be admitted into college on probation—The following laws were also adopted

Every registered student shall be required to possess at all times a correct copy of the laws of the college—the price of a printed copy shall be 12½ cents.

Every registered student shall be considered a member of College until he shall have taken a degree or been discharged honorably with a regular certificate from the President or sent away in disgrace

The following was adopted and enacted in lieu of the 7th Section of Chapter 7th which section is hereby repealed

"Any student who shall have been inexcusably absent, shall be admonished; and if he shall habitually absent himself he may be dismissed in disgrace, or expelled."

COURSE OF STUDY [1839]

The regular College course occupies four years. Candidates for the Freshman Class are examined in Arithmetic, Geography, the Grammars of the English, Latin and Greek Languages; in Virgil, Cicero's Orations, and Jacob's Greek Reader.

Students may be admitted to either of the higher classes by sustaining an examination in the branches to which the class has attended.

FRESHMAN YEAR

Winter Session

Sallust; Graeca Majora, commenced; Day's Algebra, commenced.

Summer Session

Livy; Graeca Majora, continued; Algebra, concluded.

During the Year—A weekly Exercise in Composition and Declamation.

SOPHOMORE YEAR

Winter Session

Horace; Euclid, six books; Day's Mathematics—Logarithms, Plane Trigonometry, Mensuration of Superficies and Solids, Isoperimetry.

Summer Session

Cicero de Oratore; Graeca Majora, continued; Day's Mathematics—Mensuration of Heights and Distances, Navigation and Surveying; Conic Sections.

During the Year—Weekly Rhetorical Exercises, Composition, Declamation or Debates.

JUNIOR YEAR

Winter Session

Tacitus; Enfield's Natural Philosophy; Blair's Rhetoric; Chemistry; Zoology.

Summer Session

Graeca Majora, continued, Astronomy; Hedge's Logic; Geology; Mineralogy; Botany.

During the Year—A weekly Rhetorical Exercise, Composition, Declamation or Debates.

SENIOR YEAR

Winter Session

Graeca Majora, concluded; French; Vattell's Law of Nations; Stewart's Mental Philosophy; Payne's Elements of Mental and Moral Science.

Summer Session

French; Paley's Natural Theology; Anatomy and Physiology; Paley's Evidences of Christianity; Political Economy; Languages and Mathematics reviewed.

During the Year—A stated Rhetorical Exercise, Compositions, Original Declamations or Forensic Discussions.

All the classes have an opportunity of attending a Bible Class on the Sabbath.

LECTURES

Winter Session

1. Chemistry.
2. Natural Philosophy.
3. Intellectual and Moral Philosophy.
4. Anatomy and Physiology.
5. Belles Lettres.

Summer Session

1. Geology and Mineralogy.
2. Intellectual and Moral Philosophy.
3. Natural Philosophy and Astronomy.
4. Natural Theology and Zoology.
5. Botany.

The lectures are given to the Junior and Senior Classes.

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[16]Taken from the *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of East Tennessee College* (Knoxville, January, 1839), of which the University of Tennessee Library has a photostatic copy. The original is in the Harvard College Library, Cambridge, Mass. The course of study printed in the *Catalogue* of 1840 is much the same except for the following differences: the lectures are given under the individual years and include lectures to the freshmen on "Grecian and Roman Antiquities," and to the sophomores on "Ancient and Modern History"; Graeca Majora is included in both sessions of the junior year, and these major Greek writers are further identified for the several sessions as "historians, heroic poets, orators, philosophers, tragic poets, and critics"; "Natural Philosophy" is also described as including mechanics, hydrostatics, pneumatics, magnetism, electricity, optics, and astronomy; and the Hebrew and Spanish languages are added, although bracketed with civil engineering under the caption, "At the option of the Student."

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Ragan, Allen E. Mr. Justice Sanford. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no. 15:74-88)

Rose, Kenneth. A Nashville musical decade, 1830-1840. (Tenn. hist. qr. Sept. '43. v.2:216-231)

Salzer, Charles B. There's one in every town; G. R. Graybeal found capitalism in the woods. (Nation's business. Ap. '43. v.31:72) [Roan Mountain, Tenn.]

SANFORD. Ragan, A. E. Mr. Justice Sanford. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no. 15:74-88)

Silver, J. W. C. P. J. Mooney of the Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, crusader for diversification. (Agricultural hist. Ap. '43. v.17:81-89)

Smoky mountains hiking club. Twentieth anniversary handbook. 1924-1944. Knoxville, The club, 1943. 40 p., illus.

Stanton, William M. Associate Justice David William De Haven. (Tenn. law rev. Dec. '43. v.18:27-38)

Swint, Henry Lee. Higher education in the Tennessee-Kentucky region a century ago. (Tenn. hist. qr. Je. '43. v.2:129-143)

———————. ed. With the first Wisconsin cavalry, 1862-1865. The letters of Peter J. Williamson. [Wisconsin mag. of hist. Mr. and Je. '43. v.26:333-345,433-448.] [Williamson participated in raids in Tennessee and was stationed in Nashville during most of the Civil War]

Taylor, A. Elizabeth. A short history of the woman suffrage movement in Tennessee. (Tenn. hist. qr. Sept. '43. v.2:195-215)

Tennessee blue book, 1942-43. [comp. by] Joe C. Carr, secretary. Nashville, [pub. by the state] 1943. [10] 258 p., illus., ports., fold pl., plans, facsims.

Tennessee state planning commission. Tennessee manufacturers; a directory of products, plants, places. Nashville, The commission, 1943. 76 p.

T V Archaeology: Indian kitchen middens in Tennessee excavated, flooded. (Scientific Amer. My. '43. v.168:209)

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY. Huxley, J. S. TVA: adventure in planning. Surrey, England, Architectural press, 1943. 144 p., illus.

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Van Sickle, John Valentine. Planning for the South; an inquiry into the economics of regionalism. Nashville, Vanderbilt univ. press, 1943. x,255 p.

Walker, Arda. Andrew Jackson: planter. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no.15:19-34)

White, Robert H. Beginnings of health and medical legislation in Tennessee. (Tenn. hist. qr. Mr. '43. v.2:43-51)

Whitlatch, George I. Mineral springs and wells in Tennessee. (Jour. of Tenn. academy of science. Oct. '43. v.18:305-324)

Whitney, Gertrude. Cookeville in retrospect. Reprinted from Putnam County *Herald*. The author, 113 N. Storey st., Dallas, Tex., 1943. 47 p.

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———————. The life of Johnny Reb: the common soldier of the Confederacy. Indianapolis, Bobbs, 1943. 444 p. illus.

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Williams, Charlotte. Congressional action on the admission of Tennessee into the union. (Tenn. hist. qr. Dec. '43. v.2:291-315)

Williams, Frank B. The pan-electric telephone controversy. (Tenn. hist. qr. Je. '43. v.2:144-162)

Williams, Samuel Cole. The golden era of Tennessee's judiciary. (Tenn. law review. Ap. '43. v.17:805-820)

———————. Judge Robert McFarland. (Tenn. law rev. Je. '43. v.17:899-902)

———————. The Tennessee state flag. (Tenn. hist. qr. Sept. '43. v.2:232-235)

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Wingfield, Marshall. The shrine in a temple. Memphis, Al Chymia Temple, 1943. 86 p.

Yoakley, Ina. Geography of Tennessee; supplement to Our world today, by Stull and Hatch. New York, Allyn, 1943. 75 p. illus., maps.

UNPUBLISHED MASTER'S THESIS, 1943

UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE

Wagner, Harry C. History of Disciples of Christ in Upper East Tennessee

UNPUBLISHED DOCTORAL DISSERTATION, 1943

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY

Taylor, Antoinette Elizabeth. The woman suffrage movement in Tennessee

BOOK NOTICES

Books to be noticed will be those bearing directly or indirectly upon some phase or phases of the history of Tennessee. There is no intention of reviewing books critically; the purpose of the *Publications* will be served in supplying bibliographical data and in indicating something of the nature of the subject matter.

Geography of Tennessee. By Ina Yoakley. Supplement to *Our World Today.* By Stull and Hatch. (New York: Allyn and Bacon, 1943. iv, 75 pp. Maps, illustrations, appendix, index. 40¢.)

The Unit titles in the table of contents are: I. The Settlement of Tennessee; II. Traveling from the Center; III. Climbing on the Rim; IV. Crossing Cumberland Plateau; V. The Valley of East Tennessee; VI. The Tennessee Valley Authority; VII. The Appalachian Mountain Region; VIII. Knoxville to Chattanooga; IX. Chattanooga Toward Memphis; X. West Tennessee; XI. Summary.

Indians Abroad, 1493-1939. By Carolyn Thomas Foreman. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1943. xxiii, 248 pp. Illustrations, bibliography, footnotes, index. $3.00.)

"The student of United States history learns that Christopher Columbus took nine Indians to Spain when he returned from his first voyage of discovery in the New World. Many persons are also aware of the visit to England of Pocahontas, with her baby and English husband, of her death and burial far from her forest home. These are two well-known incidents in history, but research discloses that a vast number of other red men and women have been taken abroad for various purposes." (Introduction.)

Chapters V and VII deal with the travels of the Cherokee Indians abroad, and there are numerous other references to these and other Tennessee Indians in the volume.

The Eastern Cherokees. By William Harlen Gilbert, Jr. Anthropological Papers, No. 23. From Bureau of American Ethnology *Bulletin* 133. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1943. xi, 413 pp. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, appendices, index.)

"The present study is concerned with two very definite problems:

"1. The outlining of the present social organization of the Cherokee in its formal and integrative aspects.

"2. The portrayal of the historical changes in this social organization so far as they can be gleaned from past records of Cherokee culture." (Introduction.)

The Plain People of the Confederacy. By Bell Irvin Wiley. The Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press, 1943. xi, 104 pp. Illustrations. $1.50.)

"In the chapters that follow I have sketched the character and experiences of the Confederacy's humbler peoples—the Johnnies, the folk at home, and the Negroes. I have been conscious of a desire to give these plain folk a conspicuous place in the South's war history because of a long-standing conviction that they have not had due recognition. But at the same time I have striven earnestly to be objective." (Preface.)

The Life of Johnny Reb, the Common Soldier of the Confederacy. By Bell Irvin Wiley. (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1943. 444 pp. Illustrations, footnotes, bibliography, index. $3.75.)

"The common soldier of the Confederacy has for a long time borne the title of Johnny Reb . . . . Descendants might be irked by the connotation of rebellion, but not the original Johnny. He not only considered himself a rebel but he gloried in the name.

"Only a few years after Appomattox one of Lee's veterans remarked that future historians 'would hardly stop to tell how the hungry private fried his bacon, baked his biscuit, smoked his pipe,' and performed the various other details of camp life. This Reb's prophecy has been fulfilled to an impressive but regrettable extent. For in the flood of history and hear-history published during the past half-century, the doings of common soldiers have usually served as a hazily sketched backdrop for dramas featuring campaigns and leaders. The present work is an attempt to give the man of the ranks, who after all was the army, something of his rightful measure of consideration.

Since the writer's dominant aim has been to present soldier life as it really was, and not as a thing of tradition, he has based his narrative chiefly on primary sources. The most extensively used records were wartime letters and diaries." (Preface.)

Fiddles in the Cumberlands. By Amanda McDowell and Lela McDowell Blankenship. (New York: Richard R. Smith, 1943. ix, 310 pp. $3.00.)

"Amanda McDowell wrote her part of this story during the Civil War. In it she told of the struggle in which her neighborhood, which lay in northern Tennessee, the 'No Man's Land' of that war, was alternately pillaged by both sides. Her two brothers took opposite sides in the conflict and this division colored her comments and opinions.

"There would be no reason for Lela McDowell Blankenship to add anything to the diary had it been left as written. But Amanda wrote of Larkin Craig, the man she loved, on many pages of her journal and when she decided to marry another she cut each mention of her lover from the book. Paper had been scarce and she had written on both sides, so many interesting entries were cut out.

"Jack McDowell had often repeated the old stories to his daughter, Lela, who had also heard her Aunt Amanda tell them, and she had reinstalled them in the diary." (Preface.)

Included are numerous letters written by members of the family, in-

cluding a Confederate soldier, during the period of the war and the years immediately preceding. The story covers also the tribulations of Cumberland Institute, a co-educational seminary, during that time.

The Blue and the Gray: The Best Poems of the Civil War. Compiled and edited by Claudius Meade Capps. (Boston: Bruce Humphries, Inc., 1943. 281 pp. Index of titles, index of authors. $2.50.)

"Eighty-two years ago the first shot of the Civil War was fired at Fort Sumter, South Carolina, and seventy-eight years ago peace was declared at Appomattox in Virginia, and signed by General U. S. Grant and General Robert E. Lee, thus closing the Civil War after four years of struggle. During these four years many poems and song poems were written in both the North and the South. Many of these poems were published in local papers and many of them were not published at all.

"With the view of compiling these poems into one book I am publishing this Anthology of the Best Poems of the Civil War. In this undertaking I have been assisted by many of the State Librarians of the different states with the result that I have poems assembled from New Hampshire to Texas, and from Michigan to Florida, covering a cross-section of our common country both north and south." (Foreword.)

The Great Smokies and the Blue Ridge: the Story of the Southern Appalachians. Edited by Roderick Peattie. (New York: The Vanguard Press, 1943. x, 372 pp. Illustrations, bibliography, index. $3.75.)

"This volume is then a guide to the understanding of a mountain area and the people who live therein. To understand a mountain one must appreciate the process of mountain-making, the forces which created its surprising bulk. One must understand the living forces of degradation which have made or are making the valleys or the mountain slopes. A delight of every mountain trail is the zonal successions of plants. What kind are the trees, the flowers, the birds? Scientific knowledge of nature is always exciting in a green laboratory. A special chapter on the Great Smoky Mountains National Park is found at the end of the book. Moreover this volume is a sympathetic guide to mountain cultures. You are to take your journey along the mountain ways or vicariously in an armchair in a goodly company of experts. Each is a specialist." (Preface.)

The Tennessee Valley Authority: A Study in Public Administration. By C. Herman Pritchett. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1943. xiii, 333 pp. Frontispiece, end maps, index. $3.50.)

"Any person who undertakes to write about the Tennessee Valley Authority is in the position of the fabled blind man before an elephant. Although it is a single government institution, and only in its tenth year, the activities of the T. V. A. have been so diverse, its implications so far-reaching, its methods so novel, and its goals so challenging, that the task of appraisal and description is one of large proportions. The present study attempts only such part of that task as is within the author's grasp. His approach to the T. V. A. is primarily that of a student of public administration who finds concentrated in this public agency more of valuable administrative history and experience than has accumulated during the longer

lives of dozens of more prosaic government departments and bureaus. The purpose of this book is, so far as may be possible within a reasonable compass, to tell that history and analyze that experience." (Preface.)

Confederate Mississippi: The People and Policies of a Cotton State in Wartime. By John K. Bettersworth. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1943. xi, 386 pp. Illustrations, end maps, bibliography, footnotes, index. $3.00.)

"In 1860, as at present, Mississippians were planting the land to erosion in cotton; and the farmers of the state, whether they owned slaves or not, were speaking of *their* Negroes in terminology even more perdurable than a peculiar institution. Eighty years ago such a state of affairs was fitting, if scarcely proper; for then Mississippi was the leading cotton state in the country, the most productive of the provinces of King Cotton. . . .

"While the relationship of Mississippi to the Confederacy as a whole has been emphasized in the present essay, I have made it my chief aim to present as completely as possible the local economic, social, and political scene in the state during the war years." (Preface.)

A Sketch of Medicine and Pharmacy and a View of Its Progress by the Massengill Family from the Fifteenth to the Twentieth Century. (Bristol, Tennessee: The S. E. Massengill Company, 1943. 445 pp. Illustrations, index.)

"There is no pretense to any original investigation in the history of medicine, nor to any consultation of original documents. I have selected what seemed to be fitting from well-known biographies, monographs, and from standard histories." (Acknowledgement.)

NOTES AND NEWS, 1943

Mrs. John Trotwood Moore, state librarian and archivist, was the speaker at the annual banquet of the East Tennessee Historical Society at the S and W Cafeteria in Knoxville on October 8. Her paper on "The First Century of Library History in Tennessee" is printed in this volume.

Announcement was made at the banquet of the winner of the Calvin M. McClung Award of $50.00 for the best paper printed in *Publications* No. 15. The prize went to Dr. William C. Binkley of Vanderbilt University for his paper, "Some Undeveloped Phases of Tennessee History," which was the banquet speech in 1942. The judges were: Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania; Herbert A. Kellar, McCormick Historical Association, Chicago; and W. G. Bean, Washington and Lee University.

All officers and editors of the Society were reelected for 1944 at the December meeting, except that Margaret B. MacMillan was elected to succeed V. M. Queener as editorial associate.

The following papers and addresses were presented before the regular monthly meetings of the East Tennessee Historical Society:

January. "Luke E. Wright, Southern Expansionist" by Miss Ann Carroll, Morristown. [In the absence of Miss Carroll, a graduate student at the University of Chicago, the paper was read by Dr. S. J. Folmsbee]

February. "The Development of Transportation and Education in Washington County" by Miss Grace Bradshaw, Johnson City.

March. "The Story of the Negroes of Knoxville during Their First Half Century of Freedom" by Charles W. Cansler, Knoxville.

April. "Three Outstanding East Tennessee Lawyers of a Former Generation—John Baxter, James T. Shields and William A. Henderson" by Judge John W. Green, Knoxville.

May. "The Religious and Educational Philosophy of Andrew Jackson" by Miss Arda Walker, Maryville.

June. "Prehistoric Animals in Tennessee" by Dr. R. E. Lee Collins, Knoxville.

November. "The History of Cultural Islands in Tennessee" by Dr. Walter M. Kollmorgen, Nashville.

December. "The Bumpass Cove Mines and Embreeville" by Paul M. Fink, Jonesboro.

Two new members were elected to the Tennessee Historical Commission at the meeting in Nashville on April 12. They were: Stanley F. Horn of Nashville, to succeed the late Albert V. Goodpasture; and Judge John W. Green of Knoxville, to succeed the late Cary F. Spence.

At the Commission's meeting on November 8, the publication of Judge S. C. Williams' work on "Tennessee in the Revolutionary War" was selected as the project for 1944. The Commission authorized that the restoration of Fort Loudoun be completed and that the William Cobb home in Sullivan County and the Tipton-Haynes place in Johnson City be acquired for preservation. It was decided that the Commission should sponsor the placing of a bust of Secretary of State Cordell Hull in the state capitol, and, along with the Polk Memorial Association, the placing of a plaque in honor of

President James K. Polk in Bancroft Hall at the U. S. Naval Academy, Annapolis.

All officers of the Tennessee Historical Society were reelected to serve their third term in 1944. They are: Stanley F. Horn, president; S. C. Williams, Johnson City, R. B. C. Howell, Nashville, Walter Chandler, Memphis, and Mrs. Rhea Garrett, Dixon Springs, vice-presidents; Robert T. Quarles, Jr., recording secretary; Mrs. John T. Moore, corresponding secretary; and Mrs. John H. DeWitt, treasurer.

The Tennessee Folklore Society did not meet in 1943, so the officers elected in 1942 continue in office until the next meeting. They are: Dr. Susan B. Riley of George Peabody College, president; Neal Frazier, Murfreesboro, and Paul M. Fink, Jonesboro, vice-presidents; Dorothy Horne, Maryville, secretary and editor of the *Bulletin*; and T. J. Farr, Cookeville, treasurer.

Dr. Robert Lee Kincaid of Lincoln Memorial University, Harrogate, is national president of the Huguenot Society for 1943-45. Other E. T. H. S. members who are national officers in this Society are: James G. Johnson, Knoxville, first vice-president; and Miss Mabell White Mitchell, corresponding secretary.

Dr. W. Neil Franklin, a former member of the University of Tennessee history department now connected with the National Archives, was chairman of the program committee for the 1943 meeting of the Society of American Archivists. The seventh annual meeting was held in Princeton, N. J. on November 15 and 16. On the 17th, the American Association for State and Local History held its third meeting.

An act enabling county courts to appropriate funds to aid in the publication of county histories was passed at the 1943 session of the Tennessee legislature. This act is expected to encourage the committees in approximately twenty counties which are working on histories with the hope of having them published during Tennessee's sesquicentennial year—1946.

A bill creating the Sam Houston Memorial Association was passed by the 1943 legislature. A board of trustees of five members is authorized "to purchase and preserve as a memorial, the old schoolhouse in Blount County in which Sam Houston taught." An appropriation of $3000.00 is provided for purchase and reconditioning and $1500.00 for maintenance. This historic schoolhouse is located five miles east of Maryville.

Miss Mary E. Baker, for twenty years librarian at the University of Tennessee, retired on July 1. Though she is making her home in Decatur, Illinois, Miss Baker continues her interest in Tennessee history and her membership in this Society.

The Society welcomes as a new member Miss Baker's successor, William H. Jesse, a Kentuckian who was formerly chief of the reading and reference service of the U. S. Department of Agriculture.

After a period of service with the armed forces, Dr. Jennings B. Sanders became president of Memphis State College at the opening of the fall term. Dr. Sanders was head of the history department at the University of Tennessee before entering the Army.

Dr. J. Wesley Hoffmann follows Dr. Sanders as acting head of University of Tennessee's history department.

Dr. V. M. Queener, associate editor of the *Publications*, is on leave from his position in the history department of Maryville College to assist the Food Distribution Administration of the U. S. Department of Agriculture.

Miss Arda Walker, a member of the Society's executive committee, who was formerly on the history faculty of Maryville High School, is also working with the U. S. Department of Agriculture.

Dr. Thomas P. Govan, professor of history at the University of the South, Sewanee, has been made historical officer for the Second Army, with headquarters at Memphis.

A portrait of Philander P. Claxton, president of Austin Peay State College since 1930, was hung in the state library on November 4. After serving as head of University of Tennessee's department of education from 1902 to 1911, Dr. Claxton was U. S. Commissioner of Education from 1911 to 1921; provost of the University of Alabama from 1921 to 1923; and superintendent of Tulsa, Oklahoma schools from 1923 to 1929.

The new president of Washington School (formerly known as Washington College) is the Rev. B. B. Lavendar. Before his appointment Dr. Lavendar was pastor of Graystone Presbyterian Church in Knoxville. The school, located near Jonesboro, was founded in 1780.

The McClung Historical Collection of Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, has added to its microfilm collection films of the following rare books: Hall, *A Brief History of the Mississippi Territory* (1801) and Coxe, *A Description of the English Province of Carolana* (1722).

The Indiana Historical Bureau has published as volumes 24-26 of the Indiana Historical Collections (Indianapolis, 1942-43) *The John Tipton Papers,* compiled by Glen A. Blackburn and edited by Nellie Armstrong Robertson and Dorothy Riker. Tipton was a native of East Tennessee who moved to Indiana in 1807 and until his death in 1839 played an important part in military, political and economic activities in his adopted state.

Mrs. Jennie Anderson Taylor, member of a pioneer East Tennessee family and the widow of Governor Alfred A. Taylor, died at her home near Milligan College on February 14.

L. L. McDowell, who was active in the Tennessee Folklore Society, died at his home in DeKalb County on May 19. He was the compiler of *Songs of the Old Camp Ground* (1937) and *Folk Dances of Tennessee* (1938).

Gen. Cary F. Spence, a trustee of the University of Tennessee and a member of the Tennessee Historical Commission from Knoxville, died on February 21. Gen. Spence was actively interested in the preservation of the cemetery at Concord where Gov. Archibald Roane is buried.

Following the death of Miss Ada Fanz in May, Mrs. M. Y. Fouche of Knoxville was named curator of the Blount Mansion, historic home of the Governor of the Territory South of the River Ohio.

J. A. Susong, a life member of the East Tennessee Historical Society, died at his home in Greeneville on September 7.

DIRECTORY OF CONTRIBUTORS

Mrs. John Trotwood Moore, Nashville, Tennessee, is state librarian and archivist.

Arda Walker, Washington, D. C., formerly a teacher in the high school at Maryville, Tennessee, is now employed by the U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

Joseph H. Parks is associate professor of history at Birmingham-Southern College, Birmingham, Alabama.

Paul M. Fink, Jonesboro, Tennessee, is a prominent member of the Smoky Mountains Hiking Club, and a prolific writer on the history of the Mountains and of Washington County, Tennessee.

Walter M. Kollmorgen is connected with the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Little Rock, Arkansas.

D. C. Corbitt is professor of history at Columbia College, Columbia, South Carolina. Roberta Corbitt, his wife, an accomplished linguist, assisted in the translations.

Stanley J. Folmsbee is associate professor of history, University of Tennessee, and editor of these *Publications*.

Martha L. Ellison is head of the McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee, and secretary of the East Tennessee Historical Society.

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